

FINDING ANNA:
THE ARCHIVAL SEARCH FOR ANNA BOTSFORD COMSTOCK

A Project Paper
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
Of Cornell University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctorate of Philosophy in The School of Integrated Plant Science: Horticulture

by
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DEDICATION

Dedicated to the voices of the women in my life. I hear you.

Lottie, Mary Ann, Haley, Maris, Jordan, Riley, Casey,
Frances, Jean, Emily, Josephine, Diane, Cheryl, Lisa, Betty to start...

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

I came to Ithaca in 2001 as a certified Histotechnologist to work in the histology and pathology labs at Cayuga Medical Center. I processed surgical and autopsy tissue or tumor specimens for pathological diagnosis using immunohistochemical and special staining techniques. When a position opened for a histologist at the Cornell Animal Health and Diagnostic center in 2003 I jumped at the chance to work at Cornell. After working two years in the anatomical pathology and histology lab I took a position in the Virology lab where I ran serum diagnostic tests and continued utilizing my histology background running the Fluorescent Antibody (FA) bench testing and diagnosing tissue sections from all species of animals.

My employee benefit allowed me to return to school to pursue my love of nature, gardening, and flowers. Working as a full-time employee, mother, and wife, I received my MPS for writing nature study program modules in forested ecosystems to be used in the grades K-12 classroom. The love of nature study motivated me to begin a new career and I decided to continue for my PhD. I feel very fortunate to have worked with a committee that loves horticulture, nature, and history as much as I do. Researching the life and work of Anna Botsford Comstock these past five years has been an absolute joy. Not only as an educator and researcher, but as a mother of five daughters and grandmother to four grandchildren, the precedence Comstock set for nature education and getting children involved in their world is even more precious.

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ABSTRACT

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Anna Botsford Comstock contributed significantly to fostering imagination in nature study education at the turn of the 20th century. Through the process of restoring the 'Comstocks of Cornell'-manuscript for historical accuracy and completeness, Anna Comstock's voice is revealed thereby emphasizing her written legacy in both scientific and Cornell University history.

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Preface

When one begins a journey, any journey, there may be an anticipation almost from the onset of destination. The details in the planning can enhance the anticipation particularly if the journey is uncharted. Questions of ‘where am I going,’ ‘what will I discover,’ ‘who will I find,’ ‘how will I proceed,’ ‘when do I proceed,’ and ‘why am I doing this’ are all subconsciously directing every turn in the plan, often overlapping one another, and a few of these questions surface consciously to a tangible thought to help guide oneself along your route. One can but pack your mental-bag with your questions, formulate and stick to your plan, then hope for the best. This is exactly what I did for my dissertation research in the department of Horticulture at Cornell University.

The journey I took was a five-year quest to find the voice of Anna Botsford Comstock. Like the reader, perhaps, when I began my search I had little knowledge of who Comstock was save only a little information that she had something to do with nature education for children. As a young girl I collected dragonflies and cicada carcasses that I layered between tissues in shoeboxes, kept notes on more than three-dozen plants in my bedroom, and voraciously read the family’s encyclopedia set to satiate the questions I continuously asked myself about nature. To stumble upon a woman who seemingly answered these same questions a century earlier was tantalizing to the little-girl-curiosity that still resides safely in my brain.

With rudimentary interest in who Anna Comstock might be I needed to determine if there was a dissertation project hidden within Comstock’s life that I could tease-out. The question of ‘what

will I discover' fueled my imagination. Above all the other questions I would ask myself in this dissertation project this one question of 'what' fueled my determination to uncover Comstock's voice. Though I did not realize it, at the beginning of my research journey into Anna Comstock's life, asking myself continuously 'what will I discover' would sustain my mental fortitude over the next five years. After I wondered what I would discover, I needed to find direction with the question of 'how will I proceed,' and so I bought a 'map' in the guise of the book *Comstocks of Cornell* written by Anna Comstock.

I am a regular to the Ithaca, New York "Friends-of-the-Library"-book sale held over three consecutive weekends in the fall and spring of each year. I have gone to the book sale every year, at both events, since I gleefully discovered it when I first moved to the area sixteen years ago. I make it a point to go to the book sale the first weekend (to scope out what's new to the shelves), the last weekend (to see what books were still waiting for me), and for 'bag-day.' The last, but best of all, 'bag-day' is the treasure hunt through the place to see what the powers in the universe had kept on the shelves just for me. In the fall 2012 book sale, I discovered to my utter disbelief, TWO copies of the book *The Comstocks of Cornell* and had the immediate sense that the universe was giving me a shove. I looked over the two copies and decided on the one with a signature inside the cover and a leaflet tucked into page 144 (bonus treasure!) for my 'research map.'

I felt, over-confidently, that I had answered my third question of 'who will I find' with the purchase of my 'map'. When secured at home with my book for sustenance, and a cup of tea for

libation, I reverently opened *Comstocks of Cornell* to a picture of John Henry Comstock opposite the title page. Who was *this* guy? Had I made a mistake? No, the title did say *The Comstocks of Cornell*, there was two of them. Where was *she*? *Where was Anna*? Subconsciously I had begun to ask myself the litany of questions posed before a journey (mentioned above). The question of ‘how will I proceed’ faded as these new questions surfaced upon opening the book. I grabbed my pencil to give my eye a point of focus lest I should miss some cue from Mrs. Comstock’s memoirs.

Turning the page, to the Dedication, I read that the book was dedicated to “fellow entomologists, to other scientists, and to...”¹ Wait one minute. Why would she write an autobiographical book and yet dedicate it to fellow entomologists? The *Foreword* of the book only added questions with its opening “John Henry Comstock was determined to get an education.”² The flippant-side of my brain mentally expressed its opinion to this statement while the curious side began to page through the book to find a picture of Mrs. Comstock. Only between pages 18 and 19 in the book is where a picture of Anna Botsford Comstock appears sandwiched in a chapter about her husband’s boyhood then followed by photographs of the Insectary, he designed and built, and that of Comstock Hall housing the department of Entomology at Cornell University.³ At its onset the book was beginning to feel a little heavy in its leaning toward Mr. Comstock, but my journey was still fresh, my ‘map’ was still new to this traveler, and I continued to ask ‘what will I discover.’

A mental wrestling began in my mind as I started to wonder ‘where was Anna’s voice?’ I had not asked this question often as I read through the accounts of both their childhoods, and as I marginally noted points of interest to myself, with light pencil markings. As the chapters of their childhood and young adulthood unfolded into the chapter of their marriage and **his** career, I began to wonder when I’d would be reading about this great nature study educator. The book was interesting to me in its anecdotes about the Comstocks, but it lacked an emotional quality where I felt I could not engage with the Comstocks. Reading the book, then and several times since, I always had the sense of being on the outside of their house looking in a window. I could see in, but I could not engage my other senses, and specifically, I could not hear Anna’s voice. Her authentic voice.

The frustration in my mind became palpable as I read page after page of what seemed more of a monologue than a story. The aspirations of her notable *Handbook of Nature Study* (1911) were mentioned not fifty pages from the end of the book, yet still with two decades of their collective life-story untold at this same point. I exclaimed in the margin of my Comstock-book, “Finally! Almost through the whole book before I get to something!” What I meant by “something” was some paragraph where I believed, and felt, that I had heard Comstock’s voice. The remaining pages of the biography read quickly and are a summary of the high-lights of their careers ending abruptly with a single page, that was also designated as the last chapter, ending melancholily with “All that came after was merely existence.”⁴

In my wry thoughts, I knew that the Comstocks were not woodland elves who merely disappeared into an evening fog. It was an abrupt and unfulfilling ending with the ‘abruptness’ siding on Mr. Comstock’s biographical sketch and ‘unfulfillment’ sitting as a lump in my mind of the shallow *autobiographical* sketch of Mrs. Comstock.

Turning the page to the epilogue after the tepid conclusion yielded more questions, and unbeknownst to myself at the time, this map of Mrs. Comstock’s was lining up my steps to guide me down *her* path. The epilogue in the book, “Sunset and Evening Star,”⁵ written by the lead editor, Glenn Washington Herrick, calmed some minor questions in my mind, but I couldn’t help to wonder who was this Herrick? This question of Herrick, along with another question one may ask in a journey, ‘who will I find,’ then broke through to my conscious thought and I set off like a shot from a hot revolver down Anna’s path with her map firmly in my grip.

The journey of this dissertation had me scouring and searching sections and chapters from books, and articles about Anna Botsford Comstock. They all said relatively the same thing, and they all resourced *Comstocks of Cornell* for their information, including Morris Bishop’s *A History of Cornell* printed nine years afterward.⁶ The articles became mundane as I read, and re-read, the same information repeatedly wondering why I was not finding something fresh in the life of this woman who was supposedly so great in her time. I was less than impressed. I steadily flipped through *Comstocks of Cornell* wondering if I missed something, but the information pulled from this book into these other articles was as rote as copying a messy grocery list into legible form.

All sources seemed identical and memorize-able in their chronology of the Comstocks lives.

I've listed many of these books and articles in my Literary Review and Bibliography.

‘Why am I doing this’ was the question that began to creep into my thoughts as I became dejected with the direction of this underwhelming book. I decided to table the book and seek a fresh point of view. I wanted to cocoon myself away from other Comstock-historians’ points of view and seek my own. I had heard somewhere in my youth that to understand someone you should read their letters, or their diaries, to get into their head. This has always been a provocative thought for me, and in trying to answer my question of ‘how will I proceed,’ I decided to go into the archives, specifically, the Kroch Library Rare & Manuscript Collection, at Cornell University (RMC), and unceremoniously go through Anna’s stuff. It sounds almost appalling in the intrusiveness of the investigation, but I held a reverence of history and respect in my research. I felt as if the spirit of Anna herself was standing on the other side of the table watching my every move as I thumbed carefully through her possessions. This was a person’s life. This was not a joke.

The John Henry and Anna Botsford Comstock papers at the RMC comprise of 6.7 cubic feet of material. Included here are mostly his professional correspondence, his awards and certificates, his printed textbook material, and the complete set of printing plates of his book *The Manual of the Study of Insects* (1895). There is an intentional heavy use of the word “his” in this description. Much of John Henry Comstock’s work was purposefully preserved by someone, but who this was only added to my questions. Trickled in between Mr. Comstock’s work are bits of

Anna and her nature study legacy at Cornell. There are also two small illegible diaries of a love-sick young college girl, photos of her parents, newspaper clippings of quotations and poetry which spoke to her heart, her mother's scrapbook, and The Manuscript. It is with a sense of reverence I capitalize the document which is the autobiography of Mrs. Comstock. When I first set eyes on its pages in the early days of my dissertation research I did not understand the importance of what I was looking at. Very quickly, however, and in the time since those first days with the Manuscript, I have learned that it was not what I was *seeing* that was important, but what I was *hearing*. This autobiographical document is Anna's voice and *not* the book *Comstocks of Cornell*. I was thunderstruck when this realization overwhelmed my thoughts, and during my research over the next several years, it would not be the first time I was so moved.

Holding the pages of the Manuscript I realized that Mrs. Comstock had held the same pages in her hands. It was a thought that was never lost on me as I have rekeyed the text of the manuscript, and read through the editors' marks which peppered and slashed through its pages. The document is appalling visually. To look at Comstock's Manuscript grossly is to bear witness to a shocking style of editing where one wonders if the wielder of the pencil lost their mind. What I first thought was an omission of paragraphs evolved into pages, then sections of omitted chapters to entire chapters, and finally into omissions of whole sections, constituting hundreds of pages, of the Manuscript itself. Huge, deeply pressed purple china-marker X's score much of the document and coarse penciled scribbles darken descriptive vocabulary, opinion, or people in Mrs. Comstock's life.

I understand as a researcher, writer, and soon-to-be author the necessity, or role, of an editor. Unfortunately, what I was viewing as I held the pages of the Comstock Manuscript was something completely different. It was another level of censorship that I did not, at that early time of my research, understand, but *knew* deep in my bones was wrong. What I discovered was that my original map that I wanted to use to in my research, the *Comstocks of Cornell* book, was lacking and deficient in Mrs. Comstock's voice. I decided to proceed through unraveling the tangle of lines which crisscrossed her manuscript, and in turn, answer my inner question of 'why am I doing this.'

The central question I asked myself in my early research years, 'why am I doing this,' was a difficult question to answer especially when trying to formulate a dissertation abstract statement. It was difficult for me to put into words for my Committee what I had stumbled upon with the Comstock-manuscript when I, myself, didn't fully understand everything that I was looking at beyond a "feeling" that something was amiss. A "feeling" doesn't sit well with a dissertation committee, however, I read an article that emboldened me stay the course even in the darkest hours' after years into my research. Elizabeth (Betsy) Birmingham wrote an article in 2008 for an archival resource which refueled my perseverance.⁷ In her article, Birmingham spoke directly to my sense of discovery and propriety in fixing what I thought was broken with the Comstock-manuscript:

"If historians don't even speculate, I assumed they also did not misspell. ... As a scholar, I had to make up an implausible story so that I could be wrong in good company. My discipline itself kept me distanced from the subject of my research, but not so that I might objectively evaluate the information I had collected. Rather, my discipline sought to narrow potential interpretations and to enforce, rigidly, the notion that my work must build on that of other scholars—even those who were mistaken—and that any other

*interpretation was speculation. And my professors, who walked me through this process, were smart and generous and careful scholars, as were the scholars whose work I was reading and parroting and internalizing and rebelling against, and I wanted to be like them. And I couldn't."*⁸

I starred this section in the article, and wrote "I will NOT do this" in promise not only to myself, but especially to Anna Comstock, and thereby was determined to answer any remaining questions I may have held in regards to the Manuscript, and in the journey of this research to find Anna's voice.

I took clues from both the Comstock-book and Manuscript, in tandem, to find the disparities and holes between the documents. I branched my research into other archival holdings to fill these holes, or, at best, bridge the disparities even if I was only swinging over the chasm with a rope. Archival research is not just trolling around through someone's possessions. Often these items were precious to their owner, or they were deemed precious by someone else. It is the slim difference of these two personal designations that I literally had to sort between. The adage "one person's trash is another person's treasure" was not lost on me as I opened box after box through dozens of archival holdings of many of Cornell's alumni. We are select in what items, or documents, we want people to remember of us, and there are those who select for us. Mrs. Comstock fell into the latter category.

I used the chronology Mrs. Comstock first laid out in her manuscript as a guide to keep me on tract with my research and avoid the pitfall of what many of my librarian friends at the RMC

called ‘falling down a rabbit hole.’ From Comstock’s chronological template, used in both the Manuscript and translated over to the *Comstocks of Cornell*-book, I branched collaterally to research other key people in her life. I discovered quickly that such a personality search in the book was close to useless as people were missing when compared to the manuscript, and began to rely more strongly the manuscript as the true resource for Comstock’s life.

Partial to this list of missing persona from the book are some of the early educators in the nature study movement at Cornell that Comstock worked with. These educators include John Walton Spencer, Alice Gertrude McCloskey, and Mary Rogers Miller. Mrs. Comstock did give credit where it was due in her manuscript; but, their absence from the *Comstocks of Cornell*, or only a single reference in the book’s Index, reflects poorly on Mrs. Comstock. If it were not for her autobiographical manuscript the unreferenced contributors to the nature study movement would be further marginalized from future histories. This revelation also contributed to answering the question of ‘why’ as I continued to conduct this research and I pushed forward.

Turning points in my research often revolved around obscure letters that I rooted out from dusty folders in forgotten archival holdings. Letters from both the archive papers of Simon Henry Gage and George Lincoln Burr dropped my jaw more than once in their discussions about the ailing and elderly Comstocks. It was the Woodford Patterson-letter of July 1938 that propelled me from the RMC reading room and to double-over in front of their antiquated card catalog file. The letter so shocked, appalled, and excited me that I physically reacted. It was the only document in my research to cause such a dramatic reaction to my senses save for two diary entries by Glenn

Herrick. The Patterson-letter reinforced my suspicions and hunches that I had difficulty in vocalizing to my dissertation committee. It provided proof-positive of the travesty imposed on Mrs. Comstock's autobiographical manuscript with detailed description. The letter also corroborated my suspicion that two rounds of editing were conducted on the manuscript, approximately fifteen years apart, and to an end that was avoidable and unnecessary.

In my dissertation, I discuss the marginalized nature study educators to save them from obscurity and to emphasize the roles they shared with the Comstocks. I also tell of the story of the publication attempts in late 1937 to mid-1938, and again in the early 1950's before the actual publication of the *Comstocks of Cornell*-book in 1953. This story is key for the reader to understand in that the voice you are hearing is an adumbration, and it is Glenn Herrick's, not Anna Comstock's voice. Lastly, and most importantly, this dissertation seeks to correct the damage done to the integrity of Anna Botsford Comstock in the story-telling of her own life. Like all human beings Comstock was complex and robust. Her story in its original format is a compelling story. Certainly, portions of her story are mundane and ordinary as are portions of all our lives. That Mrs. Comstock's life-story should be stripped to an acceptable shade of vanilla, and then touted as her own, is more of the shade of a lie. This dissertation seeks to correct these inconsistencies and let Mrs. Comstock's voice speak for the merit of her own life's work.



Chapter 1: Introduction

"Dear Glenn,

Your letter of April 10 with its enclosures reaches me this afternoon. So averse am I to the changing of anybody's manuscript--and especially to the changing of anybody's who can no longer be consulted--that I am not at all sure that, were I the responsible editor, I could bring myself to do it. But that isn't what you ask me. You ask me only how, if I were willing to change it, I would prefer to do so--and that I cannot see why I should not tell. I shall still feel free, if I can not (Sic.) conquer the aversion, to try to dissuade you from doing it.

George Lincoln Burr

*April 12, 1938"*⁹

The dramatic beginning of this four-page correspondence between two notable Cornellians: historian George Lincoln Burr to entomologist Glenn Washington Herrick, holds at its center a manuscript of thick parchment over seven-hundred pages in length. Each page, water-marked with the emblem and shield of Cornell University, was scrolled into and pulled from the typewriter of another noted Cornellian academic, Anna Botsford Comstock. From this manuscript, the *Comstocks of Cornell: John Henry Comstock and Anna Botsford Comstock*, came a book, reduced in size by more than fifty percent of the manuscript's length.

Anna Botsford Comstock contributed significantly to fostering imagination in nature study education at the turn of the 20th century. Through the process of restoring the 'Comstocks of Cornell'-manuscript for historical accuracy and completeness, Anna Comstock's voice is revealed thereby emphasizing her written legacy in both scientific and Cornell University history.

The career she began for herself at Cornell University with the entomology work of her husband, John Henry Comstock in the late 19th-century spread collaterally when she partnered with

Liberty Hyde Bailey in his work on nature education and outreach during the early 20th century Nature Study movement. The Comstock-Bailey association pulled into its fold the likes of Martha van Rensselaer and John Walton Spencer as they all worked to promote discovery, self-reliance, and nature investigation through their programs in the *Cornell Nature Study Leaflets* and *Boys and Girls* magazine. Both Comstocks used their influences to further promote the education and work of other young university students under their tutelage. Mrs. Comstock directly influenced the nature study work of several young women scholars which will be discussed under Literature Review in the second chapter.

As early as 1904, Anna called herself: “*Lecturer on Nature Study in Cornell University; Illustrator and Engraver of ‘The Manual for the Study of Insects and Insect Life’*” by J. H. Comstock; Author of “*Ways of the Six-Footed,*” Joint author of “*How to Know the Butterflies*”¹⁰ Eight years later at the publication of her magna opus, *Handbook of Nature-Study: For Teachers and Parents*, she evolved her credentials to reflect the accolades she was receiving. Comstock included her bachelor’s degree designation after her name, added her “*How to Keep Bees,*” and prominently listed her books in front of the texts she and her husband worked jointly upon. Anna also called herself “Professor” instead of “Lecturer.” Subtle differences that added collectively to reflect the confidence in her work. Near the publication of *Handbook*, Comstock received a letter from the organization Journal of the American Nature-Study Society. self-described as “*Devoted wholly to nature-study programs in schools.*”¹¹ This society, created to attract the support of men of science to legitimize nature-study educations,¹² was still in its junior years when the editors reached out to Comstock for submissions for publication:

*"Dear Mrs. Comstock:
I very much appreciate your kind words concerning the February number of the Nature-Study Review. I am delighted with your offer to contribute another paper. Many kind words have come in concerning your article in the insect number. Could you not write me a double article on the themes "What Nature-Study Should Do for the Child" and "What Nature-Study Should Do for the Teacher"? I should like to print these either together or in successive issues, and I thank you heartily for volunteering to do us this favor.
"We await your book with much interest."
[no signature]*¹³

Anna's answer to this letter is found in the Introduction of *Handbook*. It is a book she persevered to publish, where she expressed in her own words, on her own terms, her philosophy of nature-study education for both children and teachers. Of the latter, Comstock immediately addresses educators in the Preface with her perception of nature-study education being unaccomplished in that "...the teachers are as a whole untrained in the subject. The children are eager for it, unless it is spoiled in the teaching; ..." ¹⁴, and once rectified nature-study will be a joy to both pupil and teacher.

Long after Mrs. Comstock had been awarded accolades for her woodcarving artistry in the illustrations of her husband's entomological work, and while she continued the development of her own nature study curricula, Comstock sat down to write her and John Henry's biography. Professor Comstock retired in 1914 from the duties he held for thirty years at Cornell as a lecturer and researcher in the University's department of entomology. He set to work on his own archived manuscript, *An Introduction to Entomology* (later published in 1924), which was only mentioned sparingly in the *Comstocks of Cornell*-book. As the *Handbook* gained wide acceptance and popularity, other obligations pulled Anna away from the work of her

autobiographical manuscript, and once again the document was put away until such time that Mrs. Comstock could devote herself fully to its completion.

The work on the manuscript was picked up again, in about 1928, in the last years of Mrs. Comstock's life. Professor Comstock, an invalid from several strokes, could not speak nor walk. Anna had been debilitated by cardiac problems for many years. Her strong frame weakened as cancer began its insidious unraveling on the ties of whatever good health remained bound to her. A determination to finish her last work gripped the waking hours of her days especially in the four months preceding her death, in August 1930. The sense of urgency she must have felt is palpable through the pages of the manuscript she labored over. When she completed the manuscript, she did not have a title for her book. The task of editing, printing, and subsequently naming her book, fell to the task of others in the decades to follow. As protocol dictated, after the death of Professor Comstock six months following his wife, in February 1931, their papers were ultimately bequeathed to Glenn Washington Herrick (1870-1965) their closest living relative, along with their attorney, George "Jim" Russell. There is no apparent record of when Herrick specifically received Mrs. Comstock's manuscript.

The enormity of the value of the Comstock Manuscript was not lost on Herrick who, in 1937, sought the manuscript's publication with guidance from a core of close intimates of the Comstocks. It was from this group of Cornellian emeritus professors, Simon Henry Gage (1851-1944) and George Lincoln Burr (1857-1938), that Herrick took counsel. Herrick's enthusiasm may have worked against him as the manuscript was passed from the hands of Simon Gage and

George Burr to the critical eye that was cast over the Comstock-manuscript by Cornell University publisher Woodford Patterson.

Patterson held a relationship, in one form or another, with Cornell for a greater portion of his life. From 1917 until his retirement in 1941, he was University Publisher, and until his untimely death in 1944 he remained as consulting editor for Cornell University Press.¹⁵ It would be Patterson who would cull from the Comstock-manuscript great sections of work by Mrs. Comstock's hand with a purple china-marker. Patterson's damage in the editing of the Comstock-manuscript is equal to Herrick's carte blanche decision fifteen years later to send the document to print.

The consequences of the deaths of the key participants, involved in the early publication attempt, contributed to the dissection of the Comstock-manuscript affecting the outcome final book in 1953. Almost a quarter-of-a-century after the death of both Comstocks, the only edition of *The Comstocks of Cornell* has served as a reference for many books and publications since its debut. As a historical reference piece of the earlier beginnings of Cornell University, and of the lives of the Comstocks, the book represented a window into a particularly poignant time of Cornell's history as told with a singular voice from that time. The critical hand that removed the emotional grit of the attachments Mrs. Comstock held to the objects, people, or situations significant to her throughout the Comstocks' lives, came from within Cornell University, itself, decades before Herrick succeeded in rendering a copy of the book that went to publication. The essential core that supported the fruit of Mrs. Comstock's persona remained removed by Herrick's over-enthusiastic admiration for Professor Comstock.

The restoration of the original Comstock manuscript, and the research into its culling, provides not only a mental footprint into the minds of the editors as they conducted this work, but also serves to correct a template many have used for their own research since the book's printing. Carby heeds us to remember Trouillot's warning, "While others debate what history is or was, others take it into their own hands"¹⁶. The blatant erasure of a memory for the preservation of a desired perception or personal gain is truly staggering, and this is the very ball Herrick picked up in his court when all the players promoting, or demoting, the publication of this manuscript were finally deceased. Herrick perpetrated sycophantic tendencies through the latter years of his lifetime, not only in professional writing, but in this personal legacy of Anna Comstock. The ramifications of his actions have impacted over sixty years of researchers and educators who relied on the Comstock-book for historical insight.

Anna Botsford Comstock was a prominent and influential scholar during her many years at Cornell University. Her succinct avocation of 'what Nature-Study should do for the child' was her platform, and the reasoning behind why she has been endeared to so many educators and students for generations. It is why *Handbook of Nature Study* remains in print today in its 24th edition. It is the plain philosophy that is relatable to all and one that hearkens back to a time in one's life of simplicity, namely; self-discovery. Fostering imagination through nature study education promotes discovery of one's self and one's environment for one's voice. It is imperative that Comstock's voice remain intact and why her written legacy in her manuscript be restored and preserved faithfully and with authenticity.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The memoirs of the life of Anna Comstock was divided in preparation for the publication of *Comstocks of Cornell* in 1953. Before this publication date Comstock's autobiography was exclusively penned within the pages of the Manuscript, by Mrs. Comstock. The book's publication created a second document of biographical information. Unbeknownst to subsequent researchers of both Professor and, especially, Mrs. Comstock was the existence of the original format of *Comstocks of Cornell* in its manuscript form. What these other authors transcribed of Mrs. Comstock's life for their body of research was not incorrect, however, it is a sort of "telephone line" of the information about the events of Comstocks' life.¹⁷ The findings that occur from research to research repeat the same information setting up the potential for a historical stalemate of knowledge. This chapter of **Literature Review** has been divided into two sections. The first, **Literary Research**, will discuss the literature referencing the book *Comstocks of Cornell*. The second section, **Archival Research**, will discuss the importance of including the papers within archival holdings as part of this Literature Review.

I. Literary Research

The books listed below in the **Literary Research** by Dinsmore, Dorf, Needham, and R.G. Smith are authors who were contemporaries of the Comstocks. Their work represents recollections of the Comstock couple before the 1953-book publication. Interestingly, Dorf mentions John Henry Comstock only once as incidental¹⁸ in his biography of Liberty Hyde Bailey. Two exceptions to these lists of authors listed below in the **Literary Research** section are (1) Armitage, who did not access *Comstocks of Cornell* for his research, and (2) E.H. Smith who

relied only lightly on the *Comstocks of Cornell* as he cited much of his ninety-six sources from other acquisitions.

The books listed below in the **Literary Research** by Bishop, Bonta, Champagne and Klopfer, Cleland and Stundtner, Conable, Ferrara, Green, Kohlstedt, Ogilvie and Bailey, Peck, Rose and Stocks, Rossiter, Vogt, and Watts are included in this group of post-1953 research affected by the publication of the Comstock biography submitted with final edits by Glenn Washington Herrick. Often these authors collaborate as is the case with Henson (see Addendum), Ogilvie, Rossiter, and Watts. Additional research that draws from these works regarding the Comstocks, particularly Mrs. Comstock, may also be incomplete though not necessarily incorrect and give example of the “telephone line” of repeating historical information from one source.

Mrs. Comstock did speak for herself in two publications during her lifetime. The nature study magazine, *Boys and Girls*, was a collaborative work with Martha van Rensselaer and John Walton Spencer at the turn of the early twentieth century. The magazine, at a cost of 5-cents a copy, was created to provide inspiration and education to youth outside of the New York State agricultural education movement spearheaded by Liberty Hyde Bailey at Cornell University during the end of the nineteenth into the early twentieth century. Mrs. Comstock wrote anecdotes from of her childhood which she shared with the young readers of the periodical. The introductory *Preliminary Prospectus* from the 1902 first edition provides insight not only into her childhood but also to develop a connection with the young readers that is not seen in other historical writings about Comstock.¹⁹ Comstock’s participation with this publication waned in subsequent years as her other obligations pulled her in different directions. She continued to

contribute re-writes of previous works for her portion of the collaboration with Van Rensselaer and Spencer. This journal, and its influence on protégés of Comstock, will be discussed further in this dissertation in Chapter 4: Analysis.

The second publication in which Comstock carries the primary voice is in the *Half-Century of Cornell* with Case as editor. Unusual with this article, “Pioneers Among Women,” is its 1930 publication date, the year of Comstock’s death, and that the article crosses paths with both the autobiographical manuscript and the heavily-edited 1953-book. The use of present tense in the article, and of the biographical description of Comstock at the end of the article, it is fair to hypothesize that Comstock produced the two-and-a-half-page recollection of her early Cornell days from her manuscript.²⁰

There are three books and five poetical works which are included in this Literature Review that are of significance for their importance to understanding Mrs. Comstock’s character. The first of the three books is Susan Fenimore Cooper’s, *Rural Hours*, published in 1850. Comstock’s mother, Phoebe Botsford, held a love of reading and appreciation of nature for the duration of her life which she emulated to her daughter. It is with strong probability that Cooper’s bestselling book was on the Botsford bookshelves. The diary Cooper kept on rural life in New York was the basis for *Rural Hours*, illustrated by her own hand, and was published, initially in anonymity, through six editions over forty years.²¹ The similarities between Cooper’s method of authorship and publication strikingly mirror Comstock’s own with her novel, *Confession to a Heathen Idol*, discussed below.

The second influential book in Mrs. Comstock's life may have been the inspiration for the pseudonym, Marian Lee, she used in *Confession's*. Published in 1860, *The Marble Faun* was Nathaniel Hawthorne's last novel and one he considered his best work.²² Critiques of the book by Hawthorne's contemporaries rated it from a work of excellence to one of "mush."²³ The protagonist in the novel, Miriam, is a lovely young woman of principle who falls in love with a mysterious young man. Comstock was a young girl of eighteen years of age when she read the book. When she recommended the novel, the written reply that she received from her friend was enthusiastic stating that she was "crazy to read it."²⁴

The third novel significant for the importance to understanding Mrs. Comstock's character is Comstock's own *Confessions to a Heathen Idol* written under the pseudonym of Marian Lee. Printed in October 1906, this book is significant to this Literary Review because it was written from Mrs. Comstock's own diaries as an adult. In both the *Comstocks of Cornell* and her manuscript she mentions the mirroring of *Confessions* from her personal journals. As of the date of writing of this dissertation, these personal journals have not been found. The diaries listed in the Comstock holdings at the Cornell University RMC collection are three small personal diary logs from 1870, 1871, and 1874. The writing is small, faded, and illegible.²⁵

Confessions is presented in thirty chapters. The wooden idol to whom the protagonist, Marian, addresses her diaries is listed with the twelve characters central to the novel. What makes this book paramount to this Literature Review is that *Confessions* is written in Comstock's own language reflecting her extensive vocabulary, personal insight and metaphors for life including

marriage, work, religion, and relationships in the guise of the characters, and their conversations, in her novel.²⁶

The five poetical pieces that are important to this Literature Review are not only unique, but emphasize the breadth and depth of which Mrs. Comstock's literary tastes ranged. All the poetry listed here are mentioned in *Confessions* either as gifts given between the characters, or with quotations from the books serving as portions of the characters' conversations. Comstock expresses her own moral questions through the dialogue between the male characters in her book. Through the female character voices Comstock answers her own philosophical dilemmas. This format worked for Comstock because it allowed her to express her own voice in a document separate from that of any work inclusive with her husband. *Confessions* was also a constructed attempt by Comstock to use her own voice outside of a diary and was written before she began work on her autobiographical manuscript.

- *The Kasidah of Haljil Abdul El-Yezdil* by Sir Richard Burton (1821-1890) was a poem written in 1854 and not published until 1880. The poem was considered advanced for its time and reflected on the origins of how men act, or think, to strip away conditioned beliefs of others. The artwork with the poem is provocative with mystical undertones and lends to the desert imagery of the piece. The Queen of the Night steps forth in the opening stanza of the poem²⁷, and a young Mrs. Comstock, herself personifying "Night," stepped forth in 1875 at a Cornell mask and costume party.²⁸
- William Wordsworth's *The Prelude; Or, Growth of a Poet's Mind* (1805) was carried by Comstock in her extensive travels. The piece about the evolution of a young man into adulthood is lyrical with its strong nature metaphors, is autobiographical of Wordsworth,

and widely regarded as his greatest work.²⁹ Comstock came to appreciate Wordsworth's prose later in life and his *Guide to the Lakes* (1810) also became a treasure to her. Of all the poetical authors listed here, Wordsworth is the only one she made mention of in her manuscript, and thankfully, this admiration was carried through into the book *Comstocks of Cornell*.

- Two of the poetical works listed in the Literature Review, *Extreme Unction* and *Under the Willows*, are by James Russel Lowell (1848-1891). A romantic poet, editor, diplomat, and critic, Lowell was associated with the Fireside Poets group in New England whose members included Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr.³⁰ Lowell's writing was influenced by spirituality, nature, and social reform all of which spoke to the beliefs and ideals held by Mrs. Comstock. A representation of Lowell's work, *Extreme Unction*, appears in the Appendix of this dissertation.
- The last poetical piece in this list of influential works is a little book of bawdy poems written by W. S. Gilbert (1836-1911) of the Gilbert and Sullivan theatrical partnership of Victorian England of the late nineteenth century. *The "Bab" Ballads: Much Sound and Little Sense*, written for humor and entertainment by Gilbert, was used by Comstock in her *Confessions to a Heathen Idol* as flippant remarks made between her characters.³¹ Her quotations from the *Ballads* give the reader a glimpse into the dry wit and clever turn of words Comstock appreciated. The removal of this humor from Comstock's manuscript is one example how Herrick, and others, stripped part of the personality and voice of Anna Comstock from the *Comstocks of Cornell* 1953-printed book.

The literature review for this dissertation is unique in that literary works, which might be considered collateral information to the research, provide primary insight into the romantic and poetic heart of Anna Comstock. The scattered references of writing found in the quotations she saved, or the books she read provide a window into her personality otherwise lost from culled manuscript. Mrs. Comstock relished language and vocabulary. The meaning of poetry, esoterically or literally, she took to her heart and included poetical references in her nature study writings.

The Comstock-manuscript is a marginalized document and it is the preface of this dissertation to include resources that speak to the responsibility of preserving and protecting archival records for research. To bridge the gap between literature resourced readily, and documents discovered arbitrarily, a selection of articles discussing the current trends of archival research and resources are added to this literary research. The articles by Boles, Jimerson, and Samuels are poignant for their insight into who *controls* archival documentation, as do the books by Blouin Jr. and Rosenberg, Orwell, and Trouillot. The articles by Birmingham, L'Eplattenier, and Samuels also speak to the responsibility and importance of scholarly archival research. The compilation by Gaillet, et al. is also an excellent resource providing eclectic opinions and guidelines for archival systems research.

The inclusion of these discussions is important because the thousands of pages of archival documentation uncovered in the Cornell University Kroch Rare & Manuscript Library collections regarding both Comstocks, their peers, and the history of the Comstocks'

publications through Comstock Publishing Company are primary sources of research information for this dissertation. Together, the literary research and the archival research, put together a more complete emotional and personal profile of Mrs. Comstock that is missing from the 1953 printing of the *Comstocks of Cornell* book.

I. Literary Research

Armitage, Kevin C. *The Nature Study Movement: The Forgotten Popularizer of America's Conservation Ethic*. Lawrence, KS: U of Kansas, 2009. Print.

Bailey, Martha J. *American Women in Science: A Biographical Dictionary*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1994. Print. pp. 67-8.

Birmingham, Elizabeth (Betsy). "I See Dead People': Archive, Crypt, and an Argument for the Researcher's Sixth Sense." *Landmark Essays on Archival Research*. By Lynee Lewis Gaillet, Diana Eidson, and Don Gammill. New York, NY: Routledge, 2016. 165-70. Print.

Bishop, Morris. *A History of Cornell*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1962. Print.

Blouin, Francis X., and William G. Rosenberg. "History as Science." *Processing the Past: Changing Authorities in History and the Archives*. New York: Oxford UP, 2011. 14-17. Print.

Boles, Frank. *Selecting & Appraising Archives & Manuscripts*. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2005. Print.

Bonta, Marcia Myers, ed. *American Women Afield: Writings by Pioneering Women Naturalists*. 2nd ed. College Station: Texas A & M UP, 1992. Print.

Boys and Girls: A Nature Study Magazine. Rpt. in *Cornell University Rare Books QH1.B7*. By Anna Botsford Comstock, Martha Van Rensselaer, and John W. Spencer. Ithaca: Stephens, 1902. Print. v. 1-6, v. 7, no. 1-6; Jan. 1903-July 1907. Caption title: Boys & girls, as naturalists, gardeners, home-makers, citizens. Official organ of the Chautauqua junior naturalist clubs, June 1904-Nov. 1905. Editors: Jan.-Mar. 1903, Mrs. Anna B. Comstock. -- Oct. 1903-July 1907, Martha Van Rensselaer. Merged into the Children's magazine.

Burton, Richard Francis. *The Kasiḍdah of Haḷjiḷ Abdul El-Yezdiḷ*. New York: Brentano's, 1926. Print. Originally written in 1853 or 1854 according Bibliographical Note.

Case, Harry L., ed. *A Half-century at Cornell, 1880-1930, a Retrospect Sponsored by the Cornell Daily Sun to Commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of Its Founding*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Daily Sun, 1930. Print. A retrospect sponsored by The Cornell Daily Sun to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of its founding.

Champagne, Audrey B., and Leopold Klopfer E. "Pioneers of Elementary-School Science: II. Anna Botsford Comstock." *Science Education*. 3rd ed. Vol. 63. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1979. 299-322. Print

Cleland, Jennifer, and Robert Stundtner P. *Sage Hall: Experiments in Coeducation and Preservation at Cornell*. Ithaca, NY: PhG, 2011. Print.

Comstock, Anna Botsford. *Confessions to a Heathen Idol*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1911. Print. Originally published under the pseudonym of Marian Lee.

Comstock, Anna B., '78. "Pioneers Among Women." *A Half-Century at Cornell: A Retrospect*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Daily Sun, 1930. 25-6+. Print.

Comstock, Anna Botsford. *The Comstocks of Cornell: John Henry Comstock and Anna Botsford Comstock: An Autobiography*. Ed. Glenn W. Herrick and Ruby Green Smith. Ithaca, NY: Comstock Associates, 1953. Print.

Conable, Charlotte Williams. *Women at Cornell: The Myth of Equal Education*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1977. Print.

Cooper, Susan Fenimore. *Rural Hours*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 1968. Print. Originally published in 1850 by the author.

Dinsmore, Alice. "Nature-Study at Cornell." *Scientific American (1845-1908)* LXXXI.7 (Aug 12, 1899): 101. *APS Online*. Web. Aug. 2014.

Dorf, Philip. *The Builder: A Biography of Ezra Cornell*. New York: MacMillan, 1952. Print.

Ferrara, Cos. *A Love Affair with Nature: The Story of Anna Botsford Comstock, Pioneering Naturalist, Artist, Writer, and Teacher*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2004. Print.

Gaillet, Lynee Lewis, Helen Diana Eidson, and Don Gammill, Jr. *Landmark Essays on Archival Research*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2016. Print.

Gilbert, W. S. *The "Bab" Ballads: Much Sound and Little Sense*. 5th ed. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates, n.d. Print. Originally published in 1869 by the author.

Green, Amy S. "Two Women Naturalists and the Search for Autonomy: Anna Botsford Comstock and the Producer Ethic; Gene Stratton-Porter and the Gospel of Wealth." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 29.1 (2001): 145-54.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Marble Faun; Or, The Romance of Monte Beni*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1899. Print. Originally printed in 1860 by the author.

Jimerson, Randall C. "How Archivists "Control the Past"." *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions: Essays in Honor of Helen Willa Samuels*. By Terry Cook and Helen Willa Samuels. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011. 363-79. Print.

Kohlstedt, Sally Gregory. "Anna Botsford Comstock." *American Women Writers I* (1979): 389-91. Web. 9 June 2014.

Kohlstedt, Sally Gregory. "'A Better Crop of Boys and Girls': The School Gardening Movement, 1890-1920." *History of Education Quarterly* 48.1 (2008): 58-93. Web. 10 June 2014.

Kohlstedt, Sally Gregory. "Nature, Not Books: Scientists and the Origins of the Nature-Study Movement in the 1890s." *Isis* 96.3 (September 2005): 324-52. Web. 10 June 2014.

Kohlstedt, Sally Gregory. *Teaching Children Science: Hands-on Nature Study in North America, 1890-1930*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 2010. Print.

Kohlstedt, Sally Gregory. "The Science Education of American Girls: A Historical Perspective." *Isis* 95.1 (2004): 127-28. Web. 10 June 2014.

L'Eplattenier, Barbara E. "An Argument for Archival Research Methods: Thinking Beyond Methodology." *Landmark Essays on Archival Research*. By Lynee Lewis Gaillet, Diana Eidson, and Don Gammill. New York, NY: Routledge, 2016. 67-79. Print.

Lowell, James Russell. *Under the Willows: And Other Poems*. London: Macmillan, 1869. Print. Specific poems: <<http://www.poetrycat.com/james-russell-lowell/under-the-willows#.VKwXX3tlbD4>; <http://www.poetrycat.com/james-russell-lowell/extreme-unction#.VKwW4XtlbD4>

Needham, James G. "The Lengthened Shadow of a Man and His Wife--I and II." *The Scientific Monthly* LXII (1946): 140+. Print. Reprint accessed from Mann Library, Cornell University.

Ogilvie, Marilyn Bailey. *Women in Science: Antiquity through the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT, 1988. Print. p. 61-2

Ogilvie, Marilyn Bailey., and Joy Dorothy. Harvey. *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science: Pioneering Lives from Ancient times to the Mid-20th Century*. New York: Routledge, 2000. Print. pp. 283-4.

Orwell, George. "1984." *Animal Farm and 1984*. Austin: Harcourt, 2003. 88-370. Print.

Peck, Natalie. "'The Perfect Socialism': The Social Philosophy of Anna Botsford Comstock in the Nature Study Movement." Order No. EP15253 The University of Oklahoma, 2002.

Rose, Flora, Esther Stocks H., and Michael Whittier W. *A Growing College: Home Economics at Cornell University*. Buffalo, NY: Harry Hoffman & Sons Printing, 1969. Print.

Rossiter, Margaret W. *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1982. Print.
Selected Chapters from the Autobiography of Andrew D. White. 3rd ed. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1939. Print.

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Smith, Ruby Green, PHD'14. "Cornell's Educational Pioneers: The Comstocks of Cornell." *Cornell Alumni News* 47.24 (June 15, 1945): 495+.

Smith, Ruby Green. *The People's College: A History of the New York State Extension Service in Cornell University and the State, 1876-1948*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1949. Print.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph, and Hazel V. Carby. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston, MA: Beacon, 2015. Print.

Vogt, Bill. "National Wildlife Federation's Conservation Hall of Fame: Anna Botsford Comstock." *National Wildlife* 10 1988: 50.

Watts, Ruth. *Women in Science: A Social and Cultural History*. London: Routledge, 2007. Print.

Wordsworth, William, and Ernest De Selincourt. *The Prelude; Or, Growth of a Poet's Mind*. London, New York and Toronto: Oxford UP, 1949. Print. Originally written in 1805 by the author.

A word in addendum: Pamela M. Henson wrote her dissertation on a topic of John Henry Comstock in 1990. At the date of this writing, I have not received permission to have access to her documentation. I do not believe that this lack of access will affect my dissertation research as her work falls into the category of work post-1953 publication of the *Comstocks of Cornell*. I have included her information here for the sake of completeness:

- Pamela M. Henson, "Evolution and Taxonomy: J.H. Comstock's Research School in Evolutionary Taxonomy at Cornell University, 1874-1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1990).

II. Archival Research

The research of this dissertation is based on a document written approximately one-hundred years ago. To fully encompass the scope of Anna Comstock's life leading up to the writing of her Manuscript, the manuscript itself, the details as the manuscript as it is passed from hand-to-hand after the death of both Comstocks, its hibernation and subsequent publication, this Literature Review will also include the archival holdings researched for this dissertation at Kroch Library Rare & Manuscript Collection at Cornell University.³² This documentation is also literary research. Additionally, it is necessary to include this information in both this chapter, and **Chapter 3: Methods**, because the method of one is also the resource of literature for the other.

Cornell University statements of faculty retirement and deceased alumni, personal and professional letters of research or business of these faculty, as well as the personal effects and possessions of the persona in this dissertation, both faculty and their collateral relationships outside of the university, contributed hundreds of pages of documentation not ordinarily quoted nor resourced in other research papers, journal articles, or books. Many of the holdings are linked esoterically, but the research was necessary to gain a complete picture of loss of Anna Comstock's voice from the transference, or lack thereof, from manuscript to book.

Of the holdings listed in **Archival Research** of this dissertation specifically in the Comstock (#21-23-25 and # 21-23-57), Emerson (#41-5-148), Fox (21-23-3574), Gage (#14-26-278 and #4937), Herrick (#21-23-844), Mayo (#37-5-3902), Mitchell (#8438), Patterson (#6-2-2168),

Spencer (#21-24-238), and Trump (#4266) holdings were searched *in toto* for a combined volume of 26.7 cubic feet of information. The remaining holdings on the list are not insignificant in the volume of documentation and this will be discussed further in Chapter 3: Methods of this dissertation.

Core Archival Research

Andrew Dickson White Papers, #01\02\02. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Clara Keopka Trump. Papers, #4266. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Comstock, Anna Botsford. *Structure of the Enteron of Corydalus Cornutus*. Thesis. Cornell University, 1885. Ithaca: Cornell U, 1885. Print. Call Number: Thesis 1885 18, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library

Comstock, Anna Botsford. *Nature Study*. Ithaca, NY: Comstock, 19--. Print. Syllabus of lectures: Nature Study

Cornell University 1880s Photograph Album, #37/5/2768. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Faculty Biographical Files, #47-10-3394. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Library. Miscellaneous Correspondence, #13-1-501. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Office of the Registrar Records, #36-1-630. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company records, #35-6-257. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Press minutes, 1939-1947. #35-6-1351. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Public Affairs Records Deceased Alumni Files, #41-2-877. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Dept. of Forestry Records, #20-01-287. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Edwin Emerson reminiscences, 1954 papers, #41-5-148. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Eugenia Mitchell Family Papers, #8438. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Finch, Katharine. "Anna Botsford Comstock, 1854-1930." *Entomological News* (1930): 277-79. Rpt. in *QL31.C7 F49*. Philadelphia: 1930. Print. Part of original Comstock Memorial Library of Entomology (CMLE)

Gage family papers, 1851-1945 papers, #Archives 4937. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

George Lincoln Burr papers, #14-17-22. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Glenn Washington Herrick papers, #21-23-844. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Grace Fordyce Fox papers 1914-1931, #21-23-3574. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Harry George Stutz. Papers, #2607. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Hu Shih papers at Cornell University, #41-5-2578. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

James G. Needham papers, #21\23\479. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

John Henry and Anna Botsford Comstock papers, #21-23-25. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

John Henry Comstock Collection of Photographs of Entomologists, #21-23-57. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

John W. Spencer Papers, #21/24/238. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Liberty Hyde Bailey Papers, #21-2-3342. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Mary Rogers Miller letter, #41\5\m.264. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

New York Agricultural Leaders Oral History Project, #13-6-428. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

New York State College of Home Economics records, #23-2-749. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library

Rogers, Julia Ellen. *Materials for Winter Work in Nature-Study*. Thesis. Cornell University, 1902. Ithaca, NY: Cornell U, 1902. Print. Call Number: Thesis 1902 355, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Simon Henry Gage papers, 1880-1957. #14-26-278. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Smith, Ruby Green Bell. *Evolution of the Venation in the Anal Area of the Wings of Insects*. Thesis. Cornell University, 1914. Ithaca, NY: Cornell U, 1914. Print. Call Number: Thesis 1914 S658, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Woodford Patterson. Papers, #6-2-2168. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Zaidee Theall Mayo papers, 1901-2011, #37-5-3902. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library



Chapter 3: Methodology

The Methodology used for the research of Comstock-manuscript involved **documentary analysis**.³³ This style of research is time consuming in the amount of reading, and exacting in its note-taking, in following the cues archival artifacts may reveal. L'Eplattenier discusses the evaluation of the "interpretation of our sources,"³⁴ and her insights were significant to this research. For this dissertation, **documentary analysis** was conducted through obtaining data predominantly from existing documents in the Kroch Library, the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection Library (RMC) at Cornell University. Collections in the RMC are

comprised not only of documentation, but mementos and paraphernalia held in regard by their owners and later bequeathed to the university for posterity. The collections do not circulate and are stored within a climate-regulated vault with control over temperature and humidity.³⁵

Searches within the RMC begin at Cornell University's online library catalog. Search parameters for this dissertation were narrowed for specificity to the Division of RMC or, its satellite holdings, in the Library Annex. The Cornell University archives are open to researchers with the least amount of restrictions imposed as possible. The teaching collections are for scholarship, interest, and curiosity.³⁶

The publication of *Comstocks of Cornell* created a second document of biographical information that has been singularly resourced, as the definitive biography of John Henry and Anna Botsford Comstock, by researchers since 1953. The **first document** in this original order of publication is the little-known Comstock autobiographical-manuscript which served as the book's template.

Documentation analysis involves surveying the *original order*³⁷ of the archival holdings the archivists maintain. The very nature of the order of things holds important information analogous to Trouillot's presence or absence of sources.³⁸ Both the order and presence (or absence) of data determine the historical trail of information that a researcher follows. What is included, and simultaneously by what is *not*, culminate into the pictorial history of what is left behind for posterity.

To circumvent falling into redundancy, or a historical stalemate, it was necessary for the research of this dissertation to access original documents in archival collections, particularly the RMC, from the Comstocks and their contemporaries. It was essential to re-establish the chronological

order of all the documentation surrounding the writing and publication of the Comstock manuscript. It is imperative to remember that both the **Literary Review** and the **Methodology** of this dissertation are linked not as resources and investigation method *individually*, but rather conterminously.

In the course of this research one-hundred and seventy-seven separate archival requests were made covering thirty-eight collections in the RMC archives and annex.³⁹ A listing of these collections follows at the end of this dissertation chapter. The predominant collections which were searched in their entirety were the Comstock (#21-23-25 and # 21-23-57), Gage (#14-26-278 and #4937), and Herrick (#21-23-844) papers accounting for approximately one-fourth of the documentation. Smaller archival collections searched *in toto* include the Emerson (#41-5-148), Fox (21-23-3574), Mayo (#37-5-3902), Mitchell (#8438), Patterson (#6-2-2168), Spencer (#21-24-238), and Trump (#4266) papers. Only necessary findings were pulled from gigantic collections held in the archives inclusive within the Bailey (#21-2-3342), Burr (#14-17-22), and White (#01\02\02) papers. Miscellaneous searches within the RMC also uncovered the theses of Comstock⁴⁰, Rogers⁴¹, and Smith⁴²; Mrs. Comstock's wood-carving tools;⁴³ and the printing plates for the entire volume of John Henry Comstock's *Manual for Insect-study* published in 1895.⁴⁴ Listed below are thirty-seven of the archival requisitions resourced.

The thirty-eighth resource is an internet source that gives a nod toward the future of archival research. The *Memorial Statements* of faculty from Cornell University are openly accessible online,⁴⁵ although there is a printed index available.⁴⁶ The phase to digital acquisitions reflects

the evolution in methodology of preserving the past for the future, and is inherent in the mission of preservation, access and availability, and education at the RMC.⁴⁷

Research for this dissertation also extended to archival holdings outside of the RMC. The Albert R. Mann Library at Cornell University maintains collections in human ecology, life sciences, and agriculture.⁴⁸ At Mann Library, Comstock's *My Own Book of Three Flowers Which Blossom in April*⁴⁹ is held in Special Collections to be viewed under supervision. First published in 1904, *Three Flowers* represents the early attempts Comstock initiated to assert publications under her own name and by her own design.⁵⁰

The Library Annex within the Cornell University library system is a repository for over 2.5 million print volumes and 1.8 million microforms.⁵¹ Often this dissertation's research information was housed at the Annex and delivered to the RMC. Information resourced from the Annex might include holdings that were split because of the size, fragility or rarity of the information. For this research, this includes the collective volume *Boys and Girls* by Comstock et. al,⁵² oral histories,⁵³ deceased alumni files,⁵⁴ and the theses mentioned above by Comstock, Rogers, and Smith.

Other outside resources searched for information include a trip to the archives of the University of Utah, as well as online searches at Hobart & William Smith College and University of Mississippi. These researches were small, and in particular to the University of Utah, necessary to complete a circuitous investigation. The results of these investigations will be discussed further in *Chapter 4: Analysis*.

The manuscript for *Comstocks of Cornell*, is a crucial component to the methodology of this dissertation and provides an interesting example of what may, or may not, lay within a cartulary. Within the eighth box of the Comstock holdings are twenty-five folders and all, but five, are the manuscript that Mrs. Comstock typed herself. There are 712 pages of the manuscript accounted for, however, it is not an intact document. The chapter labeled as “Chapter XIV” in the manuscript is missing. By his own hand, the final editor Glenn Washington Herrick, penciled that he “could not account for it.”⁵⁵ However we do have a representation of this missing chapter in its mirrored image within the published book.⁵⁶

In following the trail of Mrs. Comstock’s personal and professional life through her manuscript it became very apparent, very quickly, that the voice speaking through the manuscript was not the self-same voice speaking through the book published under her name in 1953.⁵⁷ The word-for-word comparison between the two documents, at a rate of five words a-measure, yielded a sporadic editorial pattern. Gross markings on the manuscript, indicative for omission in the book by an editor, were quickly apparent. More difficult to tease out were the sections removed from the book that were not marked for omission on the manuscript. The Manuscript is a palimpsest document in the figurative sense. Layered upon its pages are the editorial markings of five (perhaps six if one includes Comstock) readers called upon, or voluntarily engaged, to review the manuscript text. These editors, Gage, Patterson, Wormuth, Smith, and particularly Glenn Washington Herrick, will be discussed further in *Chapter 4: Analysis*. A sample chapter from the manuscript with the restored edits will be exemplified in the *Appendix* of this dissertation.

The methodology of document analysis of this dissertation includes investigative work in the careful reading and research the hundreds of pages of Glenn Herrick's daily diaries. Herrick's recording of his own life revealed a meticulous order in his daily, monthly, and yearly habits. The original order of his archival holdings reveal a fastidious archiver and documenter of information. Herrick recorded over his lifetime hundreds of weather conditions, grocery lists, medical ailments and haircuts. A careful eye was kept through the records of flowers bought, meals eaten, and friends' deaths to find a piece of information that may be suspect to the disposal of Mrs. Comstock's personal effects after her death in 1930. An entry on May 10, 1955 simply stated 'burning papers', and again on only one other instance, July 28, 1957, does Herrick record 'burned papers'.⁵⁸ This information is crucial to the research of the path of the Comstock manuscript from Comstock's death to its subsequent publication as *Comstocks of Cornell* twenty-three years later. This significant information will be discussed further in *Chapter 4: Analysis* of this dissertation.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, documentation analysis as a methodology involves careful scrutinizing of hundreds of pages of information. Often paper-trails lead to meandering paths which may, in turn, lead to a dead-end. The Young and Jacklin papers are two such instances where the research into the files were not gainful, but necessary for completeness of this project. Contrarily, there were instances of research that started with a veritable dead-end of paltry documentation revealed surprising results. This was the case for several young women who worked with and were mentored by both John Henry and Anna Comstock during their professional life at Cornell. Included in this group of scholars are Julia Rogers, Mary Rogers Miller, Ada Georgia, Ruby Green Smith, and Alice G. McCloskey. There are no personal papers,

including diaries nor correspondence ---sent or received---from any of these women save one letter from Miller.⁵⁹ A prominent source of intellectual philosophy for four of the women was also found in the Introduction of an individual book written by each of the aforementioned.⁶⁰ Minor information gathered on these women was found scattered across different archival holdings including the National Forestry Records, Liberty Hyde Bailey papers, Minnie Whitzell papers, Martha Van Rensselaer papers, and others in the RMC.

Exception to this list is McCloskey who's writing and work, not unlike Comstock's colleague John Walton Spencer, yielded meager offerings in the various holdings of the archives. Like Spencer, any writings of McCloskey's remain in letters that were written on her behalf by an assistant. Despite their educational contributions to the university and communities-at-large neither were considered faculty at Cornell University. This criterion eliminates memorial records or statements of contributions for either in the RMC archives. However, both McCloskey and Spencer were discussed by E. Laurence Palmer, Comstock's successor in nature study education, in the oral history project of New York agricultural leaders.⁶¹ This leap-frog of personalities and information yielded from other holdings filled in missing pieces of information about the Comstocks' lives and added dimension to Anna Comstock's autobiographical writing. These interesting results will be discussed further in *Chapter 4: Analysis* of this dissertation.

§

Predominant Holdings

Albert Hazen Wright papers, #14-26-1382. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Andrew Dickson White Papers, #01\02\02. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Clara Keopka Trump. Papers, #4266. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

"Clara Keopka Trump Oral History." Interview by Laurie Konigsburg Todd; October 28, 1986; Willow Lodge at Chautauqua, New York. #13-6-2082 trsc. 5232. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Comstock, Anna Botsford. *My Own Book of Three Flowers Which Blossom in April*. New York: American Book, 1904. Print.

Comstock, Anna Botsford. *Structure of the Enteron of Corydalis Cornutus*. Thesis. Cornell University, 1885. Ithaca: Cornell U, 1885. Print. Call Number: Thesis 1885 18, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library

Comstock, Anna Botsford. *Nature Study*. Ithaca, NY: Comstock, 19--. Print. Syllabus of lectures: Nature Study.

Cornell University 1880s Photograph Album, #37/5/2768. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Faculty Biographical Files, #47-10-3394. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Library. Miscellaneous Correspondence, #13-1-501. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Office of the Registrar Records, #36-1-630. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company records, #35-6-257. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Press minutes, 1939-1947. #35-6-1351. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Cornell University Public Affairs Records Deceased Alumni Files, #41-2-877. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Dept. of Forestry Records, #20-01-287. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Edwin Emerson reminiscences, 1954 papers, #41-5-148. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Eugenia Mitchell Family Papers, #8438. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Finch, Katharine. "Anna Botsford Comstock, 1854-1930." *Entomological News* (1930): 277-79. Rpt. in QL31.C7 F49. Philadelphia: 1930. Print. Part of original Comstock Memorial Library of Entomology (CMLE)

Gage family papers, 1851-1945 papers, #Archives 4937. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

George Lincoln Burr papers, #14-17-22. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Glenn Washington Herrick papers, #21-23-844. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Grace Fordyce Fox papers 1914-1931, #21-23-3574. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Harry George Stutz. Papers, #2607. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Hu Shih papers at Cornell University, #41-5-2578. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

James G. Needham papers, #21\23\479. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

John Henry and Anna Botsford Comstock papers, #21-23-25. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

John Henry Comstock Collection of Photographs of Entomologists, #21-23-57. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

John W. Spencer Papers, #21/24/238. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Liberty Hyde Bailey Papers, #21-2-3342. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Mary Rogers Miller letter, #41\5\m.264. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Memorial Statements of Faculty from Cornell University. Web.
<ecommons.library.cornell.edu>.

New York Agricultural Leaders Oral History Project, #13-6-428. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

New York State College of Home Economics records, #23-2-749. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library

Rogers, Julia Ellen. *Materials for Winter Work in Nature-Study*. Thesis. Cornell University, 1902. Ithaca, NY: Cornell U, 1902. Print. Call Number: Thesis 1902 355, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Simon Henry Gage papers, 1880-1957. #14-26-278. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Smith, Ruby Green Bell. *Evolution of the Venation in the Anal Area of the Wings of Insects*. Thesis. Cornell University, 1914. Ithaca, NY: Cornell U, 1914. Print. Call Number: Thesis 1914 S658, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Woodford Patterson. Papers, #6-2-2168. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Zaidee Theall Mayo papers, 1901-2011, #37-5-3902. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library

Chapter 4: Analysis

The book known as the *Comstocks of Cornell: John Henry Comstock and Anna Botsford Comstock* is an incomplete representation of the personality and events of the notable Comstock professors John Henry and Anna Botsford Comstock during their tenure at Cornell University in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The crimping of a person's, or events', historical voice has been a frustration for generations of scholars in the examination of available written documentation either at the time of recording, or thereafter, in the alterations of the historical monologues.⁶²

There is no exception with the recovery of the voice of nature-educator Anna Botsford Comstock. The recension of large portions of Comstock's memoirs of her and her husband's personal and professional life together from her autobiographical manuscript, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, is not unique or unusual, nor singular in its occurrence. Written documentation that has been altered accordingly is a continual critical talking-point among rhetoric and archival researchers.⁶³ The altering of facts, recollections, and point of view in the recording of history is so prevalent through time that to find an example where these instances are *not* adulterated would be the true find.^{64,65} Comstock's life is one worth recovering from her original manuscript because the history of her nature-study work at the turn of the 20th century gives a strength of precedence to the work we do today in agricultural, entomological, and horticultural extension work, as well as nature education and public garden initiatives. The extent to which Comstock is referenced in these disciplines legitimizes the strength of historical relevance.⁶⁶

The pedagogy embraced by Anna Botsford Comstock (ABC) for Nature-study stated that “*nature-study give(s) the child practical and helpful knowledge*,” “*cultivates the child’s imagination, and “...aids in discernment and expression of things as they are.”*⁶⁷ ABC believed that nature-study was “*an effort to make the individual use his senses instead of losing them, to train him to keep his eye open to all things so that his powers of discrimination [would be] based on wisdom.*”⁶⁸ The men and women that ABC had direct influence upon and connection with also embraced these philosophies in their own works beginning with her husband, John Henry Comstock (JHC).

Together, for over thirty years, Professor and Mrs. Comstock directly influenced the personal expression and professional imagination of their students. The collegiate lives of dozens of young men and women were enriched by their alliance with the Comstocks. As these young adults came up through the ranks of their academic disciplines the Comstock-influence also spread collaterally among their department colleagues. From the memoirs of John Henry Comstock, carefully preserved in the both the manuscript and the book of the Comstocks’ biography, it is an undeniable conclusion that the young John Henry was a self-made man.

Additional to Professor Comstock, and for the purposes of this dissertation, six key educators who shared the above pedagogy, and were directly influenced by the Comstocks, is discussed in **Section I** of this chapter. Mary Rogers Miller, John Walton Spencer, Ada Georgia, Alice McCloskey, Julia Ellen Rogers, and Clara Keopka Trump are either omitted from 1953 edition of *Comstocks of Cornell*, or are minimally noted with one reference in the index of the book. Five of these educators worked concurrently from 1893 to 1900, and Clara Keopka Trump, the more

curious contributor to Comstock's legacy, came to Cornell after the others had either moved on with their careers or died. From the dozens of acquaintances, colleagues, and friends omitted from the manuscript, these six have been chosen because Mrs. Comstock gave all of them due credit in her rendition, not only for their work with her, but for the work they contributed to nature-study education on their own merits. Anna was conscientious in the lives of the students that fell under the tutelage of her and Professor Comstock in the offering of opportunities to assist in their labs and in writing for her and the Comstock Publishing Company. This representation of the scope of these individual's work in this document serves to emphasize the loss of knowledge and weakening of historic precedence by their omission from the 1953-book.

Section II of this chapter is a continued analysis of the history of the culled manuscript. This analysis of the manuscript's history begins with its conception at John Comstock's retirement, and continues with the first publication attempt in the mid-1930s. The manuscript's dubious history ultimately yields to the publication of a book in 1953 by the single editor that held the reigns to control the direction of this document through many hands.

It is important to reiterate that no personal papers exist for the women of this group. The reconstruction of each instructor or author's contributions to nature-study education was accomplished through obituary listings, Cornell University yearbooks, archive and annex holdings of the Rare & Manuscript Collection of Cornell University, including documentation cross-referring each holding not accounted for in the finding aids of the archives. It is key to mention here that these tools were utilized IF this information could be found at all.

SECTION I: The Early Nature-Study Educators

JOHN HENRY and ANNA BOTSFORD COMSTOCK

The Comstock Manuscript (also referred to as the Manuscript in this dissertation) is a collection of 720 typewritten pages of the autobiographical recollections of Anna Botsford Comstock written between 1914 and 1930.⁶⁹ Her reminiscences were filtered editorially by Glenn Washington Herrick to produce a biographical volume in 1953. John Henry Comstock is carefully preserved in both the Manuscript and the book of the Comstocks' biography. Referencing Comstock's life from either source is, for all intents and purposes, identical. The admiration of both the man and his work by editor Glenn Herrick ensured an intact account of Professor Comstock's life in the 1953 publication of *Comstocks of Cornell*.⁷⁰

Comstock was a kindly man who loved his cigars and held a reticent manner attributed to a stutter he grappled with since childhood.⁷¹ He was considered a natural born teacher. He had his early morning lectures perhaps as early as nine o'clock where he would outline the structure of the class and laboratory for that day. After an hour of lecture, Comstock would take his students into the field to gather their collection for the lab. Upon their return the students would arrange and pin their specimens to system of blocks Comstock devised for classification, and then set about to identify all aspects of the insects that they captured.⁷² At that time, and in subsequent years to the present day, entomologists all over the world regarded Cornell University as the leading center for the teaching in the discipline in the department Professor Comstock established.^{73,74}

Anna Botsford came to Cornell at the start of the second session in November 1874, and took Comstock's basic entomology class in the winter session which followed. Their early relationship was based on the kinship that cramped quarters a fledgling university imposes on its first members. Both classroom- and meal-times were shared by all in one form or other, as was recreation among the mingling circles of young men and women. In both the manuscript and the book, Comstock is noted as to being connected to two young women⁷⁵, and Anna Botsford, was herself, a casualty of a broken engagement.⁷⁶ The pair platonically, maintained a correspondence during semester breaks, and as the young Professor Comstock traveled the country for his entomological work. In late 1875, with the final dissolution of his betrothal intentions, Comstock sought solace in his closest friends whose members were now including Anna Botsford in the fold.

John Henry Comstock spoke of how much he admired "*that beautiful Miss Botsford.*"⁷⁷ As a poor instructor he put his feet around the rung of the legs of his chair so that she couldn't see his worn shoes, and he wondered if he would ever be able to buy gold beads for the wealthy Miss Botsford.⁷⁸ Botsford was considered tall in stature, had bold blue eyes, and wavy dark-chestnut hair. As her second-cousin, Glenn Herrick would later recollect, she always spoke beautifully and quietly to everyone.⁷⁹ She was modest, engaging, and served to balance the hyperactive personality of John Comstock.⁸⁰ Their courtship was already based on a long friendship, and the few years before their actual marriage, was more of a prelude of what was to come in the Comstock legacy.⁸¹ The manuscript which Mrs. Comstock wrote in the later years of her life captures some of the frustrations of the young married couple as they established their new life together⁸².

When they married, ABC supported her husband in his work and in the professional direction that his research turned.⁸³ As early as 1882, Mrs. Comstock was beginning her training in wood-engraving. Consultation between the two determined that her development of skill in the craft would be suitable for Professor Comstock's endeavor of producing a comprehensive entomology textbook. *An Introduction to Entomology* (1888) was the couple's first attempt of a joint venture in writing and artistry. The Comstocks were underwhelmed with their finished textbook. Their feelings of this first project together were removed from Mrs. Comstock's autobiographical Manuscript. The expression of their discouragement was then reworked in the book *Comstocks of Cornell* by the editors.^{84,85}

Following the publication of *Entomology*, the Comstocks spent the winter in Germany where the Professor could hone his German language skills.⁸⁶ In Chapter VIII of the Comstock-Manuscript there is an overlap of not only their early married life but their early professional life. It is in this chapter where there begins a separation, by the handlers of the manuscript, in how each Comstock is individually portrayed. Seven pages of the Manuscript, describing the above visit to Germany, were eliminated by the handlers of the document. Additionally, pages 9 and 10 of this chapter were completely removed with the remainder of this manuscript chapter re-numbered to a total of twenty-eight surviving Manuscript-pages. This equivalent chapter in the *Comstocks of Cornell* (Chapter 9) is nine pages in length.

These omissions are significant for two reasons. First, the additional omissions leave an awkward jump from 1889 immediately into 1891 in the Comstock timeline. This example is characteristic for the book *in toto*. The average length of a Manuscript chapter is approximately thirty-eight typed-pages (double-spaced lines) with the shortest chapters at twenty-six pages, and the longest at over sixty pages. Culled Manuscript chapters produced five-year gaps in each of the last four book-chapters for a potential loss of twenty years of information and reminiscence.⁸⁷ Second, omissions as described in this Manuscript Chapter VIII, are the beginning of a measured divergence indirectly proportional to the biographical material on John Henry Comstock and the lesser autobiographical material of Anna Botsford Comstock.

It is important to understand this jump in the details, and omissions, from translation of manuscript-to-book in the life of the Comstocks. At this point in the book, and as discussed here in this dissertation, the life and career of Professor Comstock has been so carefully preserved in the first one-hundred and eighty-eight pages of the book that only seventy-nine pages remain to tell the collective Comstock-story of the last forty years of their lives and contributions. The parallel manuscript chapter holds the collaborative Comstock entomology-work intact while eliminating the personal observations of Mrs. Comstock. The range of years is represented by these chapters of the book leap-frog back and forth as the removed gaps from the Manuscript are pieced back together to some semblance of organization.

It is important to lay out the format of these particular book-chapters because at Chapter 10, in Herrick's rendition of the *Comstocks of Cornell*, is all that separates the Comstocks' initial book

collaboration of 1888 with the introduction, and involvement, of Mrs. Comstock in the nature-study movement at Cornell in 1894. Secondly, there is a missing chapter, Chapter XIV, in the Manuscript that relates the events of Mrs. Comstock's professional life.⁸⁸ The corresponding chapter (Chapter 15), as edited in the book by Herrick et. al., includes the history of Comstock's publication *Handbook of Nature Study*, land purchases and expansion of Comstock Publishing Company, publication of Professor Comstock's *Spider Book*, and Mrs. Comstock's honors from Hobart and William Smith College as a few examples from this chapter where details may be missing.⁸⁹

Comstock's involvement in the Nature-study movement at Cornell is significant not only for the content she provided, but because she was involved with the effort from the very beginning starting with her attendance at the Nixon meeting of 1894.⁹⁰ With the completion and publication of Professor Comstock's *Manual of Insect Study* (1895), Mrs. Comstock joined Alice Gertrude McCloskey and John Walton Spencer as both were already involved with Liberty Hyde Bailey in the endeavor.⁹¹ Closer to the turn of the twentieth-century the Rogers sisters, Mary and Julia, with Ada Georgia and Martha van Rensselaer were all contributing to the nature-study initiatives at Cornell. In 1900, the staff of the Nature-Study program was Mrs. Comstock, Mary Farrand Rogers (later Mary Rogers Miller), Alice McCloskey and Liberty Hyde Bailey.⁹²

The difference between the early pioneers of this movement and of ABC was that Mrs. Comstock was a professor's wife. This position Comstock held served as a margin of clout over the others, particularly the young women, working in the nature study. She used her intelligence,

connections and social standing within the University to propel not only herself, but these other women, forward in a nature-study career. Comstock gave due credit to these women in her manuscript, but they were summarily cut from the Manuscript for the book.⁹³

From 1895-1900 there is spotty information of the Nature-study movement in the Comstock-book. Chapter Eleven, covering the years 1893-1903, is the chapter Comstock designated for the telling of the history of the nature-study movement in New York State. If any of Mrs.

Comstock's colleagues appear in the book, it is here, in this Chapter Eleven. This is the chapter where Mrs. Comstock writes of her promotion to Assistant Professor, and subsequent demotion to Lecturer. The wording between manuscript and book of this recollection is very similar.⁹⁴

Chapter Twelve in the book is also designated with the time parameter 1894-1903 and is dominated by how a typhoid epidemic surfaced in Ithaca, New York (affecting Professor Comstock and another entomologist), Professor Comstock's insect-collecting excursions in New Orleans, and beginning work on the Comstocks' collaboration *How to Keep the Butterflies*.⁹⁵

These two separate chapters, within the same time-frame, of the book are a division from a single chapter, Chapter X, in the Manuscript.

If Chapter X in the Manuscript was kept in its original format, it would have provided a more rounded profile of both Comstocks contributions during this time. Omitted from the book is this significant segment from Chapter X of the Manuscript:

"In May [1902] I entered into another literary enterprise. Martha Van Rensselaer believed that there was much in our leaflets for children that should be available to those outside of New York State and she had a scheme for doing it. Mr. Spencer was quite in

*sympathy with her in the matter, and between them, I too, became interested. To insure the business side of it we interested Mr. A.W. Stephens who was at that time head of the Cornell Co-Operative Store and we formed a company to publish a magazine called "Boys and Girls." The magazine had a career of seven years, although it was never a great financial success."*⁹⁶

The *Boys & Girls*-project gave ABC the confidence in her own self accomplishments. She could take on new prospects, develop and test curricula in nature study, reach a new audience of teachers, parents, and children beyond New York State (and Cornell), and she could take this clout to assist other young women in the development of their professional goals. While she and JHC were both instructive and participatory in the interests of students it was with the young women, who served as Mrs. Comstock's assistants to her own work, whom she elevated.

Inclusive in this group are Julia E. Rogers, her sister Mary Rogers Miller, Ada E. Georgia and Clara Keopka Trump. To other young women, such as Grace Fordyce Fox, Zaidee Theall Mayo, and Ruby Green Smith she was also a mentor on a more personal level.⁹⁷ Lastly, Comstock also held professional relationships at Cornell University with Martha van Rensselaer (and by default, Flora Rose) and Alice G. McCloskey.

Editors of the Manuscript who did not find value in the *Boys & Girls* paragraph contributed to a disservice of research investigation by eliminating a link in the chain of the history of nature-study, and in effect, erasing the contributions of some of Comstock's female colleagues.⁹⁸ These women may not have had a prominent place in ABC's memoirs, however, she influenced and helped secure for these women their own careers on their own terms, and gave credit where

credit was due. Additionally, the loss of Comstock's fourteenth chapter of her Manuscript dilutes further the historical base of the Nature-study movement.



John Walton Spencer

In reflection of the Nature-Study work in its first years, Liberty Hyde Bailey considered that the fledgling effort at Cornell University did not have any pedagogical theories nor did it “... *try to develop a system of nature study nor to [contribute] to the pedagogics of the subject. We have merely endeavored, as best we could, to reach a certain specific result, --the enlarging of the agricultural horizon.*”⁹⁹

The ink of the Nixon Act of 1896 had barely dried as Bailey and Mrs. Comstock traveled by horse and buggy visiting rural schools of the state.¹⁰⁰ In meeting with teachers in Cattaraugus County they discovered John Walton Spencer in Westfield, New York and believed him “*a man who seemed to have the qualities needed to develop further work on the [nature-study] program.*”¹⁰¹ Mr. Spencer came to Cornell University on a voluntary basis, in 1896, at the behest of Liberty Hyde Bailey. The Nature Study movement from Cornell took off like a fire-storm around the country upon Spencer’s inclusion. Letters from superintendents around the country proclaimed enthusiastically to procure every copy of the Nature Study circular letters for all their teachers.¹⁰²

Spencer was passionate about the work and lectured around New York state in various schools of the towns of Fredonia, Lockport, and Chautauqua. He also wrote about several topics regarding nature-study.¹⁰³ He outlined his notes, to a point of redundancy, for his speaking engagements and kept notecards with topic-lines that also reflected his deep conviction of a moral message within the nature-study lessons.¹⁰⁴

When Spencer spoke to children he did so with a familiarity that was not uncomfortable nor too personal. He addressed his letters to his young readers with an encompassing “*Dear Jack and Jill.*”¹⁰⁵ The boys and girls characterized in his stories included “*Miss Pepperpod and Gertie Gumption*” and “*Billy Boy and Sunny Pete*” and were a mix of moral undertones with the nature themes.¹⁰⁶ Spencer, as with the others, sought to put children in touch with nature in their daily lives and quickly organized Junior Naturalist Clubs with Alice McCloskey:

*“The idea of organizing children into clubs for the study of plants and animals, and other outdoor subjects, originated, so far as our work is concerned, with Mr. John W. Spencer, himself an actual, practical farmer.”*¹⁰⁷

Mary Farrand Rogers soon joined Spencer and McCloskey in making their mark at the local schools. In February 1899, a little boy mentions Miss Rogers and how her talk “inspired several of the boys to collect insects, so we procured the necessary things, and began to make our collections.”¹⁰⁸ Membership in the Junior Naturalist Club ranged from 30,000 to 35,000 in 1898 depending on which source is cited.¹⁰⁹ There were also Junior Naturalist Clubs in England, France, Egypt, India, and Japan. The dues of the clubs consisted of letters to Spencer, as “Uncle John,” telling about nature observations made by the members and providing of the member’s birthday.¹¹⁰

Letters from all points of New York State, and as far away as Iowa (the Rogers’ sisters home state), requested membership information for the Junior Naturalist Club. Specific nature study modules were also sought with a few people wanting to be included on a list of those with ‘special interest’ in nature study.¹¹¹ Dedicated school commissioner, Martha van Rensselaer, of

Cattaraugus County, New York wrote to Spencer asking for a quantity of circulars to distribute at a forthcoming meeting of the Teacher's Association. Van Rensselaer held such a staunch commitment to the Cornell program that she wrote Spencer that she was ready to "*answer the call to come help.*"¹¹²

Spencer wrote kind, thoughtful, and by his own admission; chatty letters full of information to whomever, children or adults, inquired about any aspect of gardening or nature education. JWS signed his letters to children "*Hoping we may be friends as long as we live, I am Yours cordially, Uncle John,*" and as a "*Cordial and loyal friend...*" to teachers, parents, colleagues. He, in turn, received dozens and dozens of replies of thanks and gratitude for his work. The title of 'Uncle John' meant the world to Spencer and took it to his heart saying that he would "*not have exchanged [it] for that of Governor of the State.*"¹¹³

The response to his letters was overwhelming. Children were being spoken to not just as children but as people with thoughts and concerns, and all at "Uncle John's" encouragement. Spencer's work may have dissected through all economic classes of children in his day, but it was the poorer farm class where his messages resonated the most. The Charlie Hawkins letter which Spencer received in 1903 is a sobering reminder of the difficulties many of these children endured. Spencer made them feel a part of something bigger and communal, and that they **could have a part** in that community.^{114,115}

Spencer coined his own words, such as "busyopathy" as a panacea for "wigglesis." He used these as regular talking points and were found on notecards throughout his papers. He urged

parents and teachers to keep children's hands and minds occupied ["busyopathy"] allowing them to explore their world on their own terms ["wigglesis"] in his letters and lectures.¹¹⁶

Spencer was always offering his help to teacher, parent, or child his help with organization of a club, community activity, or to send a pamphlet he could lay his hands on for further information on any topic. He developed his own Apprentice Gardening Club and continuously emulated his motto of 'helping a thousand children to acquire one interesting fact than give a thousand facts to one child.'¹¹⁷ It's a personal statement that is prolific throughout his archived papers. Spencer's personal belief was that one of the greatest kindnesses that can be done for children was to help them to help themselves, and this philosophy resonated through the nature study education programs that he developed. Speaking almost to a point of frustration, Spencer implored educators to use him as a resource for any help or questions they sought to help the children. His correspondence is peppered with *"IF you have specific problems, let me help you."* or, *"IF you have not one of those leaflets, I will send you one for the asking."*¹¹⁸

Spencer was wary and critical of adults, particularly, educated ones.¹¹⁹ Amid the children's letters and poetry stacked in Spencer's files is a terse observation, written by him, and addressed to no one, that speaks volumes for its succinctness:

"We have had no prerogative in the public schools of the State of New York. In putting Nature Study and Agriculture we could do nothing beyond that of coaxing the teacher. In the end this has been not a misfortune. A boss is never so tactful and so careful in studying the situation as a solicitor."

"There are men who call themselves students of rural sociology, who write articles for the magazines about us farmers, and sometimes they read papers before audiences that

*call themselves learned bodies. These people take themselves very seriously. They study census reports which, lie quotations from Scripture, can be made to prove anything. They send out lists of questions to residents of rural communities of no more moment than that of the state of repair of the horse sheds at the crossroads church, and "Was your father a right or left handed chopper?" If they ever go into the farmer's home they do it as an act of slumming. I regret that, but few members of the faculty of any of our agricultural colleges know the farmer and his problems. A man may be a good entomologist, a good chemist or botanist, and have no power assimilating with the farmer and getting his point of view."*¹²⁰

There was no love lost for Spencer, neither, as some University professors thought he had “*no business on the University faculty because he had no degree.*”¹²¹ There may have been an uproar if these same academicians knew that “Uncle John” could barely write nor spell, and required an assistant to correct his sentence structure and grammar for his correspondence and articles. Clara Keopka Trump was Spencer’s assistant. Her role with the nature-study movement at Cornell is discussed further in this dissertation chapter.

John Spencer’s passion for nature education extended to other naturalist leaflets put forth by the agricultural department at Cornell. The *Boys and Girls* nature magazine was not only an important source to reach children outside of New York State, but also served as a platform of publication for young women under the direct influence of both Spencer and Comstock.

First published in 1901, *Boys and Girls* was the brain-child of Martha van Rensselaer in conjunction with John Spencer.¹²² At the beginning of her auspicious career, van Rensselaer, already acquainted with Spencer from her early Commissioner days, approached him with the idea of producing a publication about garden, home, and nature education. Anna Comstock, in turn, was approached by Spencer with a proposal to join as editor, adding not only her own stories and artwork, but the “Comstock”-name to the venture.¹²³ Unlike the Home-Nature Study Course, under the general direction of Mary Rogers Miller, running concurrently at the time, the

idea for the *Boys and Girls* publication was one that would be interactive directly with the children.¹²⁴ Building on the “Uncle John” precedent of the Junior Naturalist Clubs the goal of this new format would be to endeavor to reach children beyond New York State.¹²⁵ The little magazine was published for seven years with van Rensselaer taking over as editor in 1903 as Comstock shifted her energies to the Home-Nature Study Course leaflets at Miller’s resignation.¹²⁶ Comstock kept a thumb on *Boys and Girls* not only with her own submissions, but also as a direct channel for other young women to have a means to have their own writing published. Alice McCloskey¹²⁷, Mary Rogers Miller¹²⁸, and Julia Rogers¹²⁹ all submitted articles and essays to *Boys and Girls* contributing to nature study education movement in the early twentieth-century.

In the book, *Comstocks of Cornell*, John Spencer is mentioned three times. First as the farmer who volunteered to come to Cornell to help, and later became the originator of the Junior Naturalist Club. Second, as one who, with Comstock, helped to bring Martha van Rensselaer into Cornell Extension work, and thirdly, when Comstock and Spencer traveled to New York City to teach a little nature study at the East Side schools.¹³⁰ These references occur close together in Comstock’s Chapter X in the Manuscript with nothing of Spencer’s withdrawal from academic life when he retired in 1908.

There is rudimentary documentation in the Cornell University Press papers about a *Pet and Animals* book that Spencer was developing between 1908 and before his death in 1912.¹³¹ ABC published her *Pet Book* in 1914, two years after the demise of Spencer. In the last years of his career, Spencer also wanted to write a book about nature study from the collection of material he

had amassed over his years of service to Cornell. In his retirement, Spencer submitted his drafts for his nature-study book to the Charles E. Merrill Co. in New York City in March 1910. The proposal was rejected for its digressional style of writing, and the lack of a customer-base for such a book in that publishing house.¹³² As there is no record of ABC and Spencer's relationship after his retirement the two may have been unaware that the other was aspiring to publish a Nature-study book, but it is unlikely as he continued his volunteerism with Cornell's Agricultural department. Comstock's book was published by her own company, Comstock Publishing Company, the year following Spencer's rejection in 1911. It is a nod to her colleague's dedication and time to the children of nature-study that Comstock dedicated her *Handbook of Nature Study* to Spencer.¹³³

Spencer continued to travel to Ithaca from his cherry farm in Cattaraugus County to volunteer with nature-study programming at Cornell. He took a turn towards ill health, and on his last evening, Clara Keopka Trump sat with Spencer's wife and Mrs. Comstock as he slipped away.¹³⁴

Omitted from the Manuscript is Comstock's account of Spencer's last days:

"Another sorrow came upon us; my able colleague, known as the Junior Naturalist's Uncle John, was very ill in the Ithaca hospital. He had come to Ithaca for consultation about his work when he was taken ill. We went to see him every day; he was brave and cheery and said to me with fervor "I am going to do some work in the High Schools yet this fall." But the end came October 24th [1912]. There was a beautiful service in Sage Chapel for him next day. Mr. Comstock and Professor Charles Tuck went to Westfield with the body. The death of John Spencer made me sad and depressed. We had stood shoulder to shoulder in our battle to introduce Nature Study in schools. He had been brave and full of faith and had often supported me when I might have faltered. When now I find Nature-Study growing in importance in the schools of the United States, I find myself saying to Uncle John, "Your soul goes marching on."¹³⁵

Alice Gertrude McCloskey

Alice McCloskey is a ghost. She is an example of that figure in history who contributes much and few know her name, or deeds, because she is lost within the revisions of history. The published book *Comstocks of Cornell* (1953) contributes very little to the legacy of McCloskey and is part of the broken machinery that turns the wheel of information in her regard. In Comstock's book, McCloskey is mentioned one time in the possessive pronoun as "my assistant."¹³⁶ This was not Comstock's language. This was Herrick.

Alice Gertrude McCloskey was spotted by John Spencer in Saratoga Springs, NY during his travels around the state for his Junior Naturalist programs. She had so impressed Spencer with her work in nature education in the schools that he recruited her to come to Cornell University to assist in answering the inquiries that were coming in from his "junior naturalists." McCloskey came to Cornell in the fall of 1899 and was appointed an Assistant in Nature-Study.¹³⁷ At the instigation of Liberty Hyde Bailey, Spencer, with McCloskey tried to get the Cornell agricultural faculty to write to children in the country to build up comradery between a child on a farm and the University. McCloskey was the one who first used the name "Cornell Rural School Leaflet."¹³⁸

From 1896 to 1901, then known as Mary Farrand Rogers (detailed further in this dissertation) worked with Comstock on the early *Teacher Leaflets* from the Bureau of Nature Study.

Overlapping this work, from 1899 to 1904, McCloskey was co-editor of the *Junior Naturalist Monthly* with Comstock, and worked with Spencer on lessons.¹³⁹ It is here where he began his "Uncle John"-work as described earlier in this dissertation. The four, McCloskey, Comstock,

Rogers, and Spencer also collaborated on the *Cornell Reading-course for Farmers* in extension work.

Extension staff included these four as they were part of a group of twenty persons who represented the Experiment Station and University Extension Staff. In 1900 members of this staff were already working together on the *Home Nature-Study Course* as part of the Cornell *Reading-Course for Farmers*. The bulletins were sent free to residents of New York State who requested them.¹⁴⁰ There was a distribution of material to 20,000 readers of the NYS Farmers' Reading Course and the wish was to expand the Teachers' Course to similar numbers. The Reading-courses were precursors to the *Cornell Nature-Study Leaflets* later distributed by Bailey. The purpose of the farmer-cooperative experiments and farm-investigations in extension work was the "promotion of agricultural knowledge and research."¹⁴¹ The cooperation with the farmer at his home led the director to conclude that their "*methods of conducting investigations are at least good if not superior.*"¹⁴² There was also a push for the Junior Naturalist Clubs in the schools, and the sharing of successes or failures of attempts on any nature-study work from teachers of children of all ages. These requests for expansion were made by Liberty Hyde Bailey as the Chief of Bureau of Nature-Study; and John Spencer, the Deputy Chief.¹⁴³

A turning point in this work was announced in 1902 by Bailey in ninth, and last volume, of the *Nature-study Quarterly*. LHB said that the preliminary work with nature-study leaflets was complete, and that the publications which began in 1896, comprised of various lessons on about 30 topics. Bailey expressed the desire of the department "*to extend and increase the work by intensifying it rather than by spreading it.*"¹⁴⁴ As discussed earlier in this dissertation under John

Walton Spencer, part of this reorganization of educational efforts in 1902 included Anna Botsford Comstock, Martha van Rensselaer, and Spencer with their venture of the *Boys and Girls* magazine. It is at this point that McCloskey returned to her classes at the University, but she also contributed eight articles to *Boys and Girls magazine* until it ceased publication in 1907.^{145,146,147}

The years following the folding of *Boys and Girls* were interesting ones for McCloskey. She graduated with her Bachelor of Arts from Cornell in 1908, and the following year, 1909, she was appointed as Lecturer in the nature-study department with the retirement of John Spencer. When Anna Comstock published her *Handbook of Nature Study* in 1911, McCloskey became an Associate in Rural Education and she edited the Rural School Leaflets for many years.¹⁴⁸ There were conflicts described between McCloskey and Mrs. Comstock. As a scholar, artist, scientist, and lecturer (and professor's wife!) Comstock could tactfully command respect. McCloskey was considered both frank and sincere, and perhaps less educated. "Mrs. Comstock couldn't begin to hold a crowd with poetry the way Miss McCloskey could. Miss McCloskey couldn't talk with a trained botanist or a trained zoologist any time at all without losing their respect and support."^{149,150}

The last years of McCloskey's life are marred by illness and any research material about her, scarce from the onset, becomes more dissolved with the passing of her time. She was promoted to an Assistant Professorship in 1913, and, in her final years, McCloskey worked steadily on plant identification.¹⁵¹ In an obscure article from Cornell Alumni News (1940), McCloskey was

revealed to have been one of the founding members, with Professor George Allen Works, of a new department in 1913-14 the College of Agriculture known as Rural Education.¹⁵² Edward M. Tuttle was McCloskey's assistant and successor. The holdings in the RMC archive of the Department of Forestry records, 1912-1915, hold the remains of the department she operated including many letters from Tuttle written on her behalf.¹⁵³ She was very ill the last six months of her life and confined to her home in Cayuga Heights, New York. Alice McCloskey died on an October afternoon at age forty-five.¹⁵⁴

There was no Memorial Statement issued by the Trustees of Cornell at McCloskey's death, and both the Deceased Alumni File (DAF) and Faculty Bio Folder (FBF) contain the same copy her registrar card. The 1917 Report of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University issued a brief statement of McCloskey's passing.¹⁵⁵ The Cornell Alumni News also released a brief statement in the weeks to follow.¹⁵⁶ The only other source of information about McCloskey was written by Comstock in her manuscript. The paragraph was omitted by the editors of the *Comstock-book*:

*"On October 19, occurred the death of Alice McCloskey, who was at that time Editor of the Rural School Leaflet. "Uncle" John Spencer had found her teaching in Saratoga and had been so delighted with her that he had brought her to Cornell to help with the Junior Naturalist leaflets in 1899. She had a fine literary sense and was always an inspiring teacher; she had a unique and interesting personality and was very ambitious; she was made Assistant-Professor in 1914. Her work had been most successful. Fortunately for us she had trained her assistant, Mr. Edward M. Tuttle, a young man of exceptional ability, who was able to continue her work as Editor of the Rural School Leaflet successfully. The war took him away from us and temporarily suspended our publications."*¹⁵⁷

Final thoughts to the legacy created by Alice McCloskey came from two of her colleagues who knew her well. First, Liberty Hyde Bailey said of McCloskey that, “She was one of the best advisors of young people I have ever known. She was sympathetic; she analyzed the situation, and then gave her caution and advice with a fearlessness and candor that was startling.”¹⁵⁸

Lastly from E. Laurence Palmer, an assistant to McCloskey as a young man, contributing editor to the Cornell Rural School Leaflet for over three-decades, and professor of field biology and rural education¹⁵⁹:

*"It is doubtful if any movement ever had at one time four more appropriate and able leaders as sponsors that did the Cornell nature study movement in Liberty Hyde Bailey, Anna Botsford Comstock, Uncle John Spencer, and Alice G. McCloskey. The order in which these names are listed represents their order of importance in the judgment of the writer."*¹⁶⁰



Mary Farrand Rogers Miller is the younger of the two Rogers' sisters who held a lifelong relationship with the Comstocks. Only mentioned one time, in a footnote, within the book *Comstocks of Cornell*, editor Glenn Herrick added the note about Mary Rogers Miller at the mention her husband, Wilhelm.¹⁶¹

Miller was born and raised on a farm in Dallas County, Iowa in the mid-1860s. Her strong roots in rural life gelled compatibly with the surging nature-study education movement of the time. Miller taught in rural, village and city schools both in Iowa and Minnesota from the age of seventeen.¹⁶² Miller came to Cornell University in 1893 choosing to “study the facts of life in biology laboratory with men and women working together matter-of-factly.”¹⁶³ Miller met Professor Comstock almost immediately at the beginning of the Spring 1893 session at Sage hall, where Miller lived and Comstock took his meals when his wife traveled.¹⁶⁴ An excellent student, Miller became determined by the following spring of 1894 to study entomology. She and her colleagues kept the Professor on his toes as he met the demand for his growing department.¹⁶⁵ In 1896, her senior year at Cornell, Miller was appointed to the position of laboratory assistant in the department of entomology and continued in the capacity of an instructor for the summer term.¹⁶⁶

In the following fall of 1896, winds of change began to blow for the College of Agriculture at Cornell. It was in this year that the Ways and Means Committee of the New York State Legislature appropriated funds to Cornell University to expand the nature-study education initiative at the College of Agriculture.¹⁶⁷ The Bureau of Nature-study began an issuance of

leaflets immediately in December 1896. The early leaflets were known as the Teacher Leaflets with both Anna Comstock and Miller contributing articles accordingly.

In 1896, John Walton Spencer was brought to the university by Liberty Hyde Bailey for the organization of the nature-study curriculum that was to be established. In turn, that same year, Spencer initially brought with him Miss Ada Georgia for his secretarial needs as the Junior Naturalists started the climb to a membership of 35,000. The Teacher Institute leaflets, that Miller oversaw, reached 30,000 teachers.¹⁶⁸ Georgia's contributions are forthcoming in Section I of this dissertation chapter.

In 1897, Miller was appointed Lecturer in Nature Study as Cornell began its extension work in the College of Agriculture, and for a brief time commanded a higher salary than Comstock.^{169, 170} It was a designation that she held for six years and during which time she also taught at the Cornell Summer School with the rank of Instructor. Miller also appeared on the programs of the National Education Association, of the New York State Science Association, and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.¹⁷¹ Miller's relationship with the Mrs. Comstock intertwined as they both taught nature-study at the State Normal School at Chautauqua¹⁷², and with her sister, Julia, they lived with Comstock during these summers away from Ithaca.¹⁷³ The Rogers sisters were not just any students with a marginal relationship to the Comstocks. They were special young women who were a part of the Comstock household.¹⁷⁴

Miller contributed annually to the Teacher Leaflets until their publication ceased in 1901.¹⁷⁵ Her name appeared at the onset of the project as the Nature-Study educator as part of the organization

of the Station and University Extension Staff.¹⁷⁶ With the cessation of one project Miller was free to complete another. Her book, *The Brook Book: A First Acquaintance with the Brook and its Inhabitants Through the Changing Year*, was first published in 1901. Dedicated to John Henry Comstock¹⁷⁷, the book is expressive with its execution of a prose of deep reflection and introspection. Miller writes in a semi-autobiographical format, as her unnamed protagonist hikes wooded wetlands with “the Professor,” but also in how her writing anthropomorphizes the brook with the courses of a human life.¹⁷⁸

The termination of the Teacher Leaflets-program in 1901 was more of a hiatus for the educators involved with the writing. They evolved their direction guided by the demands of the teachers for whom they wrote their nature-education modules. The nature-study work continued with Liberty Hyde Bailey appointing Mary Rogers Miller as the general director of the Home Nature-study course in 1902 as well as assistant editor of the magazine *Country Life in America* (a position she maintained through October 1909).¹⁷⁹ Miller contributed several articles to the Home Nature-study course, but her tenure was short-lived as her husband’s career pulled the couple in a new direction, away from Ithaca, in 1903.¹⁸⁰

Miller’s biographical trail begins to grow cold at the point of her husband’s career change. Miller surfaces in 1909 with an article about her credentials in the Cornell Alumni News as she sought to run for a Board of Trustee position at Cornell.¹⁸¹ Her last recorded words are from a letter written in 1954 to Cornell University archivist Edith M. Fox.¹⁸² Miller’s brief biographical sketch from the Cornell Alumnae Club describes her as having “done untold good for the rural and town schools of the state, through her institute work.”¹⁸³ Yet, in this last correspondence,

Miller speaks predominantly of the women seeking an education on a college campus at the time of her enrollment. In neither of these last documents does Miller give any mention of the Comstocks, John Spencer, Alice McCloskey, nor any other educator connected to the nature-study education movement she was so prominently connected with.



JULIA ELLEN ROGERS

Editors completely removed from the book *Comstocks of Cornell* any reference to Julia Ellen Rogers. Born on a farm in Iowa in 1866, Rogers lived to ninety-two years of age. A bird-stained tombstone in Dallas County in the state of her birth notes her accomplishments of teacher, author, and civic leader. Rogers' headstone also notes that she was a "student of nature"¹⁸⁴. Rogers deep connections to, and strong influence of, the Comstocks on her life is not noted on this grave nor is it preserved in Herrick's adaptation of the Comstock biography.

Little is known of Julia E. Rogers, the older of the two sisters, whom the Comstocks took to their hearts. At the end of the nineteenth century Rogers was known as a prominent nature study educator in the state of Iowa. Her collaboration with members of the Iowa Agricultural College was part of the nature study education movement being introduced in the west^{185,186} as well as an early attempt to compile seven nature study lessons in booklet-form for classroom teachers. Her contribution of "*A Nature Study Lesson on the Grasshopper*" to the Iowa-based booklet hints to the collaboration that lay a decade in her future. Scant documentation exists to indicate exact dates of Rogers' migration east. The pull eastward may have been great with the prospects of a college education influenced by Julia's younger sister, Mary (Farrand) Rogers Miller, and her senior thesis work with John Henry Comstock. The notoriety of both the Comstocks' work in nature-study education at Cornell University, particularly of Mrs. Comstock, would not have been unknown to Rogers.

Rogers enrolled in Cornell in 1900¹⁸⁷ and worked closely with JHC on her Master-thesis of *Materials for Winter Work in Nature-study (1902)*.¹⁸⁸ The influence of Mrs. Comstock's voice is

evident as Rogers quickly brings children into the Introduction to her document.¹⁸⁹ In what is one of the few existing documents to reflect Rogers' voice, the introductory remarks of the thesis speak directly towards the influences and importance of the Nature Study Program lauded by Comstock at that time. Like Mrs. Comstock, Rogers is anecdotal in her writing and her insight reflects a knowledge beyond her years.¹⁹⁰ Rogers quickly speaks to educators with positive and reinforcing statements.¹⁹¹ She emulates Comstock both with positive and encouraging paragraphs about the importance of the thoughts of a child's own observations, and of the knowledge such observation incurs. Though her thesis is entomologically-based, through her work with Professor Comstock, Rogers poetic voice hearkens of Mrs. Comstock.¹⁹²

Rogers, with her sister Mary, were considered members of the Comstock household. Both young women traveled with Mrs. Comstock to southern New York State for the summer nature-study lectures at Chautauqua Institute.¹⁹³ Julia would stay with Mrs. Comstock when Professor Comstock would travel for his work.¹⁹⁴ A self-described "publisher"¹⁹⁵, Rogers was a prodigious writer who contributed to *Boys & Girls: A Nature Study Magazine*.¹⁹⁶ It was to be the first of several articles and books that Rogers was to write in her career.¹⁹⁷ Little more is known of Julia Rogers save for her writing. It is known that Rogers eventually settled in later life, first in New Jersey, near her sister Mary, and then to California.¹⁹⁸ At her death Rogers' remains were interred in her home state of Iowa. No other personal documentation has been discovered as of the writing of this dissertation. What anecdotal bits Mrs. Comstock wrote in her manuscript of Rogers was completely removed by the editors shortly after her death, and remained omitted for publication of *Comstocks of Cornell*. The process of the publication from manuscript to book will be discussed in Section II of this chapter.

ADA GEORGIA

Ada Eljiva Georgia came to Ithaca, New York to join John Spencer as his assistant in the early days of nature-study education in 1896. Spencer discovered Georgia as a teacher in the city schools of Elmira, New York engaged in nature-study work with her classes.¹⁹⁹ Georgia was not a student at Cornell. All information that could be cross-referenced or obtained from Cornell archival sources was pursued. There is no information in the Registrar Cards of the RMC archives, as well as from neither the 1908-edition, nor 1922-edition, of the *Ten-Year Book of Cornell of Alumni*, nor anything in the *Deceased Alumni Files* on Ada Georgia.²⁰⁰

Georgia did join Anna Comstock with the Home Nature-Study Course leaflets in 1906 when she was transferred to Comstock's office. With her, Georgia brought her knowledge of plants that added tremendously to the writing of the leaflets, and assisted in the answering of letters that only Comstock had been diligently working upon, in the three years prior to the arrival of both John Spencer and Georgia. Miss Georgia's memory was vast, her interests many, and her love of literature "*provided many of the literary references to the Handbook [of Nature Study]*."²⁰¹

Through her associations with Spencer, Comstock, and in turn with Liberty Hyde Bailey, Georgia published a large tome with the MacMillan Company in October 1914 that was edited by Bailey. The book, *A Manual of Weeds*,²⁰² was part of a collection of books called *The Rural Manuals* edited by Bailey. The book contains 385 illustrations from wild flower author F. Schuyler Mathews and is dedicated to the memory of John Walton Spencer (who died in 1912).

²⁰³ Georgia describes herself as "*an assistant in the farm course*"²⁰⁴ on the front-piece, yet

Spencer and Comstock's influences are evident in that Georgia endeavored to make her book "*less technical and easier for the general reader to understand*"²⁰⁵

The preface of *A Manual of Weeds* safeguard the only words that are truly Ada Georgia's own thoughts or philosophies. The writing is lyrical and resonant of both Bailey's, and Comstock's own writing styles.²⁰⁶ Georgia acknowledged the desire for her work to be published for the public-at-large as "*one of the few wishes that 'come true' ...*"²⁰⁷ This final statement of Georgia's book's *Preface* gives a nod towards the influence that Comstock had with her various collegiate, and editorial, clout to give the next generation of nature educators a push upward with publications in their own names.

Georgia worked as an assistant to Mrs. Comstock and is only mentioned once in the book as "*an assistant*"²⁰⁸, however, she was mentioned several more times in the manuscript.²⁰⁹ Working with Comstock up until her sudden death in 1921, Georgia was described by her colleague and friend, Mrs. Comstock, as a woman of remarkable character and indomitable spirit.²¹⁰

Additionally, Georgia is saluted by E. Laurence Palmer, over twenty years after her death, in the Cornell Rural School Leaflet of September 1944:

*"A debt of gratitude is due some of those who served during the early days of Cornell nature study but who did not have the opportunity to assume conspicuous places of leadership. Foremost of these is **Ada Georgia**, a tireless, careful, outdoor person with a fundamental love for children that was not always obvious to casual acquaintances. As an inadequate monument to her careful, useful work she left her Manual of Weeds that was for years a classic in its field."*²¹¹

CLARA KEOPKA TRUMP

Clara Keopka Trump is the red-herring in the group of young women directly influenced by this mix of educators at Cornell in the early twentieth century, especially with Comstock and Spencer. What makes Trump unusual is that she was not originally a student at Cornell University. Her association with two prominent nature-study educators, in the prime of their careers, gives us a window into their personalities and work. Trump worked closely with both John Spencer and Anna Comstock from 1910-1914. Trump is not mentioned in the *Comstocks of Cornell*-book, nor is she apparent, in the Manuscript. However, the chapter of the nature-study work accomplished between 1908-1912 is the chapter missing from the Manuscript that Herrick “*could not account for*”²¹². One may speculate that a nod of appreciation would be directed toward Trump, as Comstock’s assistant, in the manner that Ada Georgia was acknowledged in the parallel chapter of the book.²¹³

Trump’s connection with the campus came through her association with John Walton Spencer in their mutual hometown of Westfield, New York in Cattaraugus County. They met after he retired in 1908, and was still in touch with the university, with the work he started there, and with Mrs. Comstock. Trump was a woman of twenty-eight years of age taking stenography classes when the portly gentleman walked into her class asking her instructor for a stenographer. Her instructor, Mr. Furman, thought that Keopka (Trump) “*might do for the time being*”²¹⁴. Spencer solidified his offer to Keopka in a letter of January 1910.²¹⁵

Spencer’s farm, Bell-Wether²¹⁶, had a neatly painted white house and barn. Among the cherry trees of his orchards, Spencer had a little cabin with his large desk and chair presented to him

when he was at Cornell. It was here that Trump would rewrite the letters and sentence fragments of Spencer's dictation. She was conscientious to maintain the personal tones of his letters to the children from "Uncle John." Trump did not believe that Spencer reached beyond a seventh-grade education for he did not know how to spell nor punctuate. She admitted that she did not understand how he could have attained status as a Lecturer and teach at Cornell with such poor grammar skills.²¹⁷ However, she soon learned that this resourceful man, without his formal education, learned by observation and "*learned as he went.*"²¹⁸

Spencer was determined to have his young assistant attend Cornell. In letters to Ada Georgia, and Mrs. Comstock, he asked for the latter to give Trump clerical work, and asked if Trump could live with Georgia.²¹⁹ Comstock agreed, and graciously accepted the young woman into her office as her personal secretary, while Georgia remained Mrs. Comstock's assistant. Trump remembers Georgia as a lover of literature who provided many literary references to the *Handbook of Nature Study for Comstock*.²²⁰

Trump quickly learned that Comstock was a busy woman with a large circle of friends. The volume of the correspondence, particularly when the protocol of the day demanded personal letters to be written by hand, had Trump training herself to copy Mrs. Comstock's handwriting as well as transcribing onto Comstock's stationery.²²¹ Comstock would dictate her letters, first, at the Insectary where the entomology and nature study classes would meet. Later, she would dictate to Trump while in her bedroom at their home, The Ledge, while she kept her hands occupied with little tasks.²²²

In regards to Mrs. Comstock's teaching, Trump reflected that, in general, woman professors where only tolerated, and despite her notoriety, Comstock had to look around campus to find a place to hold a class:

*"Sometimes it would be in one of the old buildings and sometimes it would be in Goldwin Smith, if there happened to be a room vacant. But she never complained. She had the nicest disposition of anybody I've ever known. I never heard her complain about anything. And yet I know she felt that she was just as smart as any man--as many men, anyway, on the campus."*²²³

What is gained in Trump's recollections of Comstock is the busyness of her days, that Comstock did not have a routine schedule of work, and that her visitors, or her health, interfered with her work. Not physically strong, but always pleasant, Trump describes Comstock as a "*very tall woman, very heavy woman...*"²²⁴ These are details lost in the *Comstocks of Cornell*, not necessarily because of Trump's absence from the book, but because of Comstock's lack of voice edited from her Manuscript.

Trump worked for both Spencer and Comstock alternately. Being on campus, she was paired more with Mrs. Comstock and her work. One of her enormous tasks for Comstock would be with limbering up the binding of the two-inch book spine of the newly *published Handbook of Nature Study* (1911). "*I opened the book carefully, a few pages at a time from the back, and then from the front, and worked to the middle pressing down pages so as not to break the binding.*"²²⁵ Though she felt Comstock was a wonderful woman, with a great influence on her life, Trump attributed the spirit that made nature-study successful to John Spencer.

His enthusiasm for the nature study work put a great exertion on Spencer and he suffered a stroke in early October 1912 while traveling in Ithaca. He lingered for twelve days in the hospital as Trump, Mrs. Comstock and Mrs. Lanti Spencer sat all night in the hospital before he died.²²⁶ His death was met with great sadness, and as mentioned in the section about Spencer in this dissertation, the event mentioned in the Manuscript by Comstock was not preserved in the book edited by Herrick, et. al. After Spencer's death, Trump went back home with his widow for the burial. As Lanti Spencer was unable to care for the financial records of the twenty-eight acres of cherry trees, Trump, as she had done the year before, promised to do so again.²²⁷

Trump's graduation in 1914 was a wonderful tribute not only to John Spencer, who fervently wanted her to attend college, but also to Anna Comstock, already one year an Assistant Professor, and who was a staunch supporter of young women. Trump gained a wonderful education from two of the dynamic personalities at Cornell. With Comstock's encouragement and letter of recommendation, Trump taught in Gary, Indiana for two years before returning to Westfield, New York with her husband, where she taught in that school system sporadically over the next thirty-five years.²²⁸

The story of Clara Trump does not end here because she provided valuable pieces of insight into the Comstocks' last years of life. The *Comstocks of Cornell*-book ends quickly with Chapter 20 being one page in length. The comparable recollection is the last page in Manuscript Chapter XX, a chapter that is thirty-four pages in length, detailing their last trip to Mentone, Alabama. This last page of the Manuscript was cut in half, and glued on top of another half-page of paper

to make one full page. It is unknown what was cut away from the original manuscript page.²²⁹

Herrick did add to the book an Appendix and Index that tied some loose ends.²³⁰

Trump was conscientious to preserve her history with Comstock, and Spencer, through her oral narratives, letters to the Cornell Alumni News (plus letters of correction, if needed), and of her last letter from Mrs. Comstock, included below. These preservation efforts of Trump remind us, as Jimerson says, how we form and preserve our memories defines us as individuals.²³¹ The last image of Mrs. Comstock which Trumps gives us is one of illness, emotion, strength, and perseverance. Further in this chapter will be discussed how Herrick, et. al., selectively preserved the language of Mrs. Comstock as an individual who was stoic, malleable, and inferior.

Sometime before her last visit with Trump, Mrs. Comstock sent a photo of her and her husband in their garden with the words, *"This is the miserable creature I now am. This is the last picture of the Professor before he was stricken."*²³² The letter to Trump, in part below, was the last to her from Mrs. Comstock written May 8, 1929:

My Dear Clara:

We have been having poor luck since 1929 made its entry through Time's open door. The Professor has had two periods of what the Doctor terms "blood seepage" into the brain and he lost strength each time. Fortunately, he retains his mentality. Just lately he has again taken to smoking and enjoys three cigars a day. This seems quite wonderful to us and we rejoice that he has this means of entertainment. He manages his cigar perfectly with his left hand. Prof. Burr helps him.

*I was quite ill in February and again at Easter. I do not know what was the matter, but it connected up with what my dear exasperated Doctor calls my "damned heart." However, I am getting well now in a truly encouraging manner and expect to teach in the Cornell Summer School as usual. There is no use of giving up until one has to, is there?"*²³³

This letter may have precipitated the last visit which Trump made to the Comstocks the year before their deaths, Trump describes the emotion that Comstock felt when they were together. It is the same emotion that Comstock would convey in her manuscript, but was repeatedly removed:

*"The Professor was then a bed-ridden invalid, and could barely speak to greet me. She laid her head on my shoulder, weeping, and said she hoped she could care for him as long as he lived. But she died in August 1930, survived by her beloved "Harry" by only 5 months."*²³⁴

Clara Keopka Trump was a self-described teacher and homemaker. She was also president of local A.A.U.W (American Association of University Women); Director of Chautauqua Co. Farm & Home Bureau & 4-H Association; officer in W.N.Y. 4-H Federation; active in Home Bureau work; on country CROP committees.²³⁵ With a penchant for history Trump also wrote two soft cover books later in her life.²³⁶ The whole of her life, and that of her archival collection, reflects the degree to which Clara Keopka Trump was conscientious of the future, especially when she preserved the memoirs of John Spencer, and the conversations with Anna Botsford Comstock.



The history of the nature study movement as told through the eyes of one of its founding members has been abridged to a point of exclusion.



Mary Farrand Rogers Miller



Julia Ellen Rogers



Alice Gertrude McCloskey



John Walton Spencer

Early 20th Century Nature-study Pioneers at Cornell University

Anna Botsford Comstock and *The Handbook of Nature Study*

In Chapter 15, “1908-1912: Cornell’s New Quarters for Entomology and Nature Study,” of the only edition of the *Comstocks of Cornell* (1953), are two paragraphs²³⁷ dedicated to the publication of Anna Botsford Comstock’s gigantic tome, *Handbook of Nature Study*.²³⁸

Significant to the length of these paragraphs is that the chapter where they lie is eight pages in length, and the parallel pages in the original manuscript, Chapter XIV, is not accounted for by editor Glenn W. Herrick. The length of this missing chapter is unknown; however, it could be surmised, based on other book-chapter lengths versus their parallel manuscript-chapter lengths, that this missing Chapter XIV from the manuscript could have been approximately forty pages in length.²³⁹ This segment of this dissertation will attempt to rectify the history of Comstock’s magnum opus, *Handbook of Nature Study*.

It was said of the Comstock’s home that it “*became the center of Nature Study as of human friendliness*.”²⁴⁰ As discussed in earlier sections of this dissertation, the Comstocks emulated a zeal for their work that contributed not only to their successful academic careers, but to an emotional attraction of others towards nature-work. Near the beginning of their careers, in March 1882, Mr. Comstock was asked to address the Teacher’s Institute conference held that year in Ithaca, New York. Mrs. Comstock “*listened attentively to his plea that teachers should interest children in their natural environment*.”²⁴¹ In a section not included in the *Comstocks of Cornell*-book, Mrs. Comstock believed, “*...listening to that address awakened in me the interest which later developed into my chief work in life*.”²⁴²

The earliest attempts of Comstock's nature study writing occurred with her college thesis.²⁴³

Comstock completed her requirements to graduate from Cornell University in 1885 with her bachelor of science degree in, what was then called, the Natural History course.²⁴⁴ Mrs.

Comstock's senior paper is twenty pages of hand-written text and twenty-three pen-and-ink, or blue pencil, drawings. Comstock's thesis demonstrates her early ability, to put into words, the critical thinking and observation skills necessary for a scientist to convey information to peers.

A jumble of forty pages in the book, *Comstocks of Cornell*, cover the ten-year period of Mrs.

Comstock's life from when she wrote her thesis to the collaboration, and publication of the

Manual for the Study of Insects (1895), with her husband.²⁴⁵ The details of the beginning of the

Department of Entomology and of Mr. Comstock's work (lecture, labs, collection of specimens, writing) is almost identical between the *Comstocks of Cornell*-book and the Manuscript. What is

missing from this, and other sections in the book, is historical interest surrounding Cornell

University personalities (outside of the Department of Entomology), as well as the emotion and

humor which Mrs. Comstock was endeared for by those who knew her best.²⁴⁶

As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, the Nixon Act of 1896 propelled the nature-study

program at Cornell to amazing levels of community involvement. The scramble of nature-

department personnel to tackle the different facets of the nature-movement had them vying for

comparable department designations despite the different pay-grades.^{247,248} Mrs. Comstock had

her hand in as many different publishing projects her schedule would allow.²⁴⁹ As those projects

evolved, as described earlier in this dissertation, Comstock amassed a wealth of information and educational materials at her disposal.

Her desire to write and publish her *Handbook* came from her determination to compile for educators all the nature-study information in one place.²⁵⁰ Comstock's description of her "*defiant courage*," described in the *Comstocks of Cornell*, is the only glimpse we have into her feelings at the time because any other record of her thoughts are lost with in the missing manuscript chapter.²⁵¹

Part of the success of the *Handbook* is its timelessness."²⁵² Comstock desired the nature lessons within her book be made available to the public. She also believed that the nature-study mission was not "yet accomplished" because the teachers "as a whole are untrained in the subject."²⁵³ Comstock purposefully designed the book to be used by novices, and intended the lessons to be informal, practical, and colloquial in its style of writing:

*"All things seem possible in nature; yet this seeming is always guarded by the eager quest of what is true. Perhaps, half the falsehood in the world is due to lack of power to detect the truth and to express it. Nature-study aids both in discernment and expression of things as they are."*²⁵⁴

Within two years of the publishing of *Handbook*, Comstock would begin the manuscript of the biography of her husband John Henry's life shortly after his retirement in December 1913.^{255,256}

It was a project which she hibernated until the final years of her life. A discussion about the Manuscript will follow in Section II of this dissertation, however, it is necessary to draw from the Manuscript to clarify the importance of the *Handbook* as a financial livelihood for the Comstocks. In the last years of their lives the health of both Comstocks declined at different paces. Only found in the Manuscript are Mrs. Comstock's first concerns about her husband's

health in an anecdote about how she believed his mental health was declining because he kept forgetting his coat during one of their last travels abroad (1925):

"I give this incident to show how very mind-weary Mr. Comstock was at this time. A more methodical man never lived, and to forget to put on his coat after putting on his sweater would have been ordinarily impossible to him." ²⁵⁷

JHC suffered his first stroke in August 1926. After more than a decade of active retirement the sudden change of health that struck as a “*bolt out of the blue*” would define new limitations for the dynamic professor.²⁵⁸

The Comstocks were being regularly taken care of by A. B. Martin who wrote monthly reports of their frailty, or cheerfulness, to their dear friend, Professor George Burr, who was residing in Philadelphia. Martin reported to Burr on February 28, 1930 their health was stable, but concern that Professor Comstock was in his final year of life. Mrs. Comstock was very ill the following March and April. She sought refuge in late April at a health resort in Clifton Springs, New York. Unknown to Comstock was that during her Clifton Springs visit was that the doctors at the spa diagnosed her with lung cancer.²⁵⁹ Renewed with vigor after the spa visit Mrs. Comstock continued her nature-study lessons in May and attended to details with the Comstock Publishing Company.²⁶⁰ It is at the end of this same month when Comstock wrote her last heartfelt letter to Clara Keopka Trump. The “blood seepage” his wife mentions of Professor Comstock’s brain contributed to his inability to speak, and concern was expressed of his lucidity in the last months of his life.”^{261,262}. The Comstocks incurred heavy expenses with his long illness.

ABC was receiving a regular monthly check from royalties from Comstock publishing 1929-1930 for \$550.00 as well as \$50 for rental of the Chalet for the publishing business.²⁶³ It was this money, ironically from sales of the book, *Handbook of Nature Study*, that both Liberty Hyde Bailey and her husband said wouldn't profit, which sustained the Comstocks through illness and death in their final years. In the seven months between their two deaths, Professor Comstock received the assistance and attention twenty-four-hours-a-day by scheduled shifts of five caretakers. The meticulous notations that Glenn Herrick made in his booklet "*Expenses of Comstock House September 1, 1930 until JHC's death in March of 1931*" leave an exacting account of Professor Comstock's needs.²⁶⁴ There is an element of Herrick's attention to his own affairs that foreshadow his obsequious management of Mrs. Comstock's autobiographical manuscript. This will be discussed in Section II of this dissertation chapter.

The impact of Mrs. Comstock's book may be quantitatively measured through its sales in the decade following its publication. Total sales, for all interests for the Comstock Publishing Company in 1928 was \$24, 039.37. Itemized, this figure correlates to \$17, 767.73 for Anna Comstock's interests (with *Handbook of Nature Study* the largest portion of her revenue); \$5,580.73 for John Comstock's interests (with *Manual for the Study of Insects* the largest portion of his revenue); and \$690.91 for Simon Gage's interests (with *The Microscope* the largest portion of his revenue).²⁶⁵

The value of the inventory of Comstock Publishing Company one year after the death of the Comstocks (July 1, 1932) was \$18,910.40 comprising of stock on hand.²⁶⁶ Forefront to the

continued success of the Publishing Company was the *Handbook of Nature Study*, in which the 1934 catalogue boasted in tribute to its author:

*“Mrs. Anna Botsford Comstock, with her early education from rural schools entered into the nature study movement with a kind of holy zeal. She went into the schools of the state, country and city, taught nature and saw how eager were pupils and teachers for the knowledge and from these experiences produced her great work, HANDBOOK OF NATURE STUDY, for Parents and Teachers (1911). This work has found its way into the hands of more than 100,000 teachers and parents, and is known in every part of the world where Nature Study is a part of the intellectual life. It has been and is still one of the Company’s most important publications.”*²⁶⁷

The beautiful book with its all its glory of nature is an inspiration to all who have ever read it.



SECTION II: The Manuscript, Its Handlers, & the Publication Attempts

The Manuscript

When the *Comstocks of Cornell* was first published in 1953 the book was reduced in size by more than fifty percent of the original manuscript's length.²⁶⁸ Section II of this dissertation will discuss the condition of Comstock's manuscript, those persons who handled the document, and the events that precipitated in the abridgement of the text.

Anna Botsford Comstock began to write her untitled book at the retirement of her husband, Professor John Henry Comstock, from Cornell University in December 1913. The project originally began as a treatise of the life, and professional contributions, of her husband, but then developed into a composition of both of their lives. The retirement years of Professor Comstock is preserved more completely in the *Comstocks of Cornell*-book, and even in the original Manuscript there is an element of safeguarding the Professor's entomological legacy.

The project of writing the memoirs was as a labor of love for Mrs. Comstock. However, she may have had to suspend the narration as sales from her *Handbook of Nature Study* catapulted her into her nature-study profession with a new fervor. The first three chapters of the Manuscript, of JHC, are typed cleanly and support Clara Keopka Trump's observation of dictation.²⁶⁹ The fourth chapter, of ABC and her childhood, is the only chapter type-written with "marginalia" and is a technique also seen in one of her early written works.²⁷⁰ The Manuscript chapters', from chapter five to twenty, are uniform in their typing style, paper quality (with a Cornell watermark), and relative length. She returned to writing the biographical document in the later

years of her life as her own health dwindled, and the Professor, who was incapacitated by cranial strokes, was left as an invalid and unable to speak. Fundamental to the comparison of the manuscript to the book is that Mrs. Comstock wrote the Manuscript in a present-tense style as she reflected on her life. Omission and manipulation of the document's content and sentence structure flip-flops Comstock's voice in the story between hers and that of the handlers of the papers.

Comstock's manuscript was heavily edited in the chapters of her life. Marked on the Manuscript for omission includes everyday life tasks, current events of the day²⁷¹, on and off campus activities, emotional language descriptors and Comstock's opinion.²⁷² Additionally removed, or edited, from the manuscript are Cornell persona who were acquainted with the Comstocks personally, or professionally.²⁷³ John Henry Comstock's life events are intact, both personally and professionally, and only self-deprecating statements of emotion are removed.²⁷⁴

In a figurative sense, the Comstock-manuscript is a palimpsest. It is a document of layers of successive writing, but not one in the literal sense, in which a previous layer has been erased to accommodate new thought. The handlers of the Manuscript added layers of their edits directly on the manuscript pages with writing in pencil, ink, or china marker; as well as cutting manuscript pages apart and reattaching with different paper plus mucilage glue. Careful examination of both documents, side-by-side, reveals an additional layer of editing strikingly unapparent. The example below illustrates a paragraph from the Manuscript where portions of sentences, or complete sentences, are crossed out not to be included in the book (in **BOLD** font). Plus, there are additional *unmarked* omissions (in the *ITALICIZED* font) that demonstrate

portions of a paragraph *not* marked for removal, but were just the same. The font which remains standard is what sifted down into the book:

"It was surely the irony of fate that she, of all women, should elect to wear trousers and fight for the privilege; *she was in face, voice, stature, and in every other way essentially feminine; her round face was much wrinkled, her short hair was streaked with gray; her suit consisted of trousers, coat and vest, and she wore a man's derby hat. She was perhaps fifty years old but her voice was that of an old woman.* Despite her man's garb she walked mincingly, like an old-fashioned lady going to church; however, she swung her cane jauntily. *Although she was peculiar,* she was a brave *little* woman who had earned her right to dress as she pleased through her work as a doctor in the hospitals and on the battles fields in the Civil War. She had borne imprisonment, repeated arrests, and endless jeers, but she had stuck to her principles that a man's costume was much better fitted for active work than a woman's. How she must rejoice if she *can look down from her heaven, which I am sure she is enjoying,* and see our girls of today in knickers **going about the streets with calm assurance. Certainly, the sight would make her heaven happier.**"²⁷⁵

History emerges from the authority of fact.²⁷⁶ When documents, such as this manuscript, are subjected to censure in this degree, the facts and by association the history, represented in the document becomes altered. The book, *Comstocks of Cornell*, is a historical foundation text in the discipline of natural-study science. The history of natural-study science, in regards to the Comstocks' legacy, has been skewed because the omissions are one-sided and weighted more towards preserving the legacy of JHC. Every book, or article, written since the publication of the *Comstocks of Cornell* in 1953, that cited or referenced the work, is subject to this rearrangement of misinformation instigated by the handlers of the Manuscript after the Comstocks' deaths.



THE HANDLERS

Glenn Washington Herrick, is the lead editor for the book *Comstocks of Cornell*. As such he is discussed in greater detail than his counterparts in this dissertation. Herrick was part of a contingent of close friends of the Comstocks who cared for the couple in the last years of their lives. Included within this special circle of caretakers was James G. Needham, Simon Henry Gage and George Lincoln Burr. Together, with John Comstock, the latter four addressed each other in conversation, or in letters, as “Brother.”²⁷⁷ As young men these four came to Cornell and all grew together in profession and friendship. Herrick was not included in this fraternity, although his familial connection to Mrs. Comstock trumped the others with decisions made in regards to the elderly couple’s care. At the death of Professor Comstock, six months after his wife, the original 760-page autobiographical document was among possessions bequeathed to the executors of the Comstock estate in 1931, namely, Glenn Washington Herrick and George H. “Jim” Russell, the couple’s personal attorney.

Herrick was second cousin to Mrs. Comstock on her father’s side.²⁷⁸ It was at her urging that Herrick petition his application to attend Cornell University. Of Mrs. Comstock, Herrick attributed her Quaker upbringing to the *aequo animo* of her disposition. He said of his cousin that to everyone she always spoke beautifully and quietly. Her friendship was valued by those who knew her, her loveliness and sense of wonder of the world resonated through the grateful hearts she touched.²⁷⁹ Herrick was a student at Cornell University from 1892-1896 studying in the footsteps of John Henry Comstock within the department of entomology. He would say of his undergraduate years that the men who most impressed him were John Henry Comstock and Liberty Hyde Bailey for he worked with them unequivocally and admired them completely.²⁸⁰

Herrick's passion for his own work stemmed from his devotion to his mentor, John Henry Comstock, a man he described as a natural teacher, quiet, kindly and one who loved cigars.²⁸¹

In 1907, Herrick was making a name for himself with his completed *Textbook of General Zoology* as an assistant professor at the Agricultural College in Mississippi where he taught economic entomology. His book was the result of ten years of entomological work with his students over the span of the previous decade since his graduation from Cornell. John Henry Comstock is among Herrick's few entomological peers listed within the *Introduction* to his text, however it is the direct influence of both Comstocks upon his psyche that particularly imprint upon Herrick's writing."²⁸²

Herrick came back to Cornell after the sudden death of Mark Slingerland²⁸³ in 1909 and took up Slingerland's class in Economic Entomology. Herrick was later appointed assistant professor in 1912 and taught the class for the rest of his career.²⁸⁴ Slingerland's loss was a blow to Professor Comstock who worked closely with Slingerland as a student, then later, as his assistant. Comstock eulogized him as a "conscientious and honored student...marked by earnestness, courage and industry"²⁸⁵ Immediately upon graduation from Cornell in 1892 Slingerland joined the entomological staff where he was considered "direct and forceful...conscientious, unbiased, persevering and accurate."²⁸⁶

In the fledgling days of the Entomology Department at Cornell the professors that were establishing the base of the department had specific research specialties which contributed to a well-rounded curriculum. Professor Comstock was noted for several areas of unique research, and particularly for work on scaled insects, as well as the evolution and taxonomy of insect

wings, in collaboration with James G. Needham.²⁸⁷ In turn, Needham, was first noted for his work in limnology then for his work with the biology and classification of damsel flies and dragon flies.^{288, 289} James Chester Bradley, a contemporary of Comstock and Needham, was a world traveler who collected new species from North and South America, wrote prolifically his entire life with the majority of his papers dealing with wasps as well as a text on beetles which became a standard text and reference book.²⁹⁰ Mark Slingerland fell easily into the fold of these detail-oriented scholars, curious about their specialty, with a ferocious appetite for learning. At the time of his death, Slingerland was considered the authority in researching the means of controlling preying insects, or also known as, economic entomology. He was characterized as a man of unswerving conviction, and considered by Comstock to have "...sterling qualities as a man and a friend."²⁹¹ This is the mantle which Herrick inherited, and the hole he filled by Slingerland's demise, when he returned to Cornell University.

Bradley characterized Herrick as friendly, sincere, and "almost naïve."^{292, 293} His teaching was considered animated and clear, his religious convictions strong, and his hospitality an enjoyment. He wrote many bulletins and papers on insect control that were considered good and inspiring, however, not ground-breaking to the degree of his peers' accomplishments.²⁹⁴ Herrick's *Memorial Statement* from Cornell University is a chronological detail of his life which speaks of his wife, their children, and his citizenship in the community more than of a unique contribution to science.²⁹⁵

Herrick was an accumulator who seemed to save every news clipping or document of interest to him. He preserved the travel brochures from every place he visited across the United States and

into Canada.²⁹⁶ In the archive holdings, there are ninety pieces of documentation of scientific addresses Herrick made in which there are resemblances to his other colleagues' work, but just on the fringe of being his own writing.²⁹⁷ There are almost five-hundred pages of proofs and corrected pages for his articles, magazines and journals with articles written about him, original illustrations he rendered, and expense books.

Herrick maintained an expense booklet from 1917 to 1963 of household expenses (with separate booklets for family trips). Herrick recorded *everything*.²⁹⁸ The detailed expense booklets evolved to the use of five-year diaries for much of the same notations as seen in his earlier booklets. There were several events chronicled by Herrick in the mid-1950s which are significant. The summer before his wife's death, Herrick records of "having a bad time with palpitations,"²⁹⁹ and also written for the first time the observation of a shakiness in his hands that sorely affected his handwriting. Herrick recorded the decline of the health of his wife, the collapse of her body, the eventual hospitalizations, her impending death, and funeral. He wrote of his despair, and the detailed notes of his youth distilled to one word reminders in older age, as his handwriting worsened becoming extremely illegible.³⁰⁰

Glenn Herrick was bored in his retirement and would occupy himself with projects which he hoped would give him a small boost of satisfaction, if not, attention.³⁰¹ He wrote several letters to the editor of the local newspapers, *The Ithaca Journal* newspaper or *The Heights Weekly*, or to larger publications such as the *Saturday Evening Post*.³⁰² Herrick carefully studied the newspaper in his retirement as it served as a valuable gateway to the world for him.³⁰³

The fastidious man, rooted in a pattern of monotony, returned to a passion-project tabled sixteen years before. He still held the autobiographical manuscript of Mrs. Comstock, and still desired to publish it, but this time under his name. That the manuscript should fall to one painfully inclined to detail was fortuitous, however, his enthusiasm may have worked against him as he endeavored to share this last offering from the Comstocks. Herrick's devotion was admirable to one Comstock but at the sacrifice of the voice of the other. Additionally, when Herrick re-opened the files on the Manuscript he did so with all previous objectors being deceased.

§

Simon Henry Gage was part of the quartet of Burr, Comstock, Gage, and Needham that referred to each other as 'Brother' in their correspondence and conversation. In their undergraduate days, they were both members in the same fraternity, and shared the same mentor, Dr. Burt Wilder, in their biology classes. In their junior year Gage was called home to Crumhorn Lake, New York when a diphtheria outbreak took the life of his brother, and the latter's five children, and consequently exposing Gage to the disease.³⁰⁴ The tragedy solidified the attachments of friendship into a truly brotherly bond.

Gage's interest in biology directed him towards a path of anatomy, histology, and embryology. He held titles as Assistant Professor, and later Professor, in these disciplines including his dominant interest, microscopy. His integral book, *The Microscope*, was first published in 1881 and used as an integral text on the subject for the remainder of his life.³⁰⁵ Gage's longstanding

membership in zoological, anatomical, optical, and medical societies solidified his credibility and brilliance across several blossoming disciplines in his lifetime.³⁰⁶

Gage dedicated his unpublished manuscript, “Half-Century of Comstock Publishing Company,” to both John Henry and Anna Botsford Comstock. His manuscript relates how, along with Comstock and Needham, Gage was a founding member of the organization. The exclusive purpose for the formation of the publishing company in 1893 was for the “publishing and marketing [of] the books written by member of the company. It had neither the capital nor machinery for taking on the works of other authors.”³⁰⁷ The first books published by the company were for collegiate faculty and students. The Company was prosperous from the beginning with its books being of quality print and illustration for an affordable price. As nature knowledge became more and more esteemed there rose a tremendous demand for publications in Nature Study.³⁰⁸ Mrs. Comstock’s prized *Handbook of Nature Study* became Comstock Publishing Company’s most successful and important publication. The Board of the publishing company had its first reorganization May 29, 1912 because of Mrs. Comstock’s success. She joined the board as its secretary with Professor Comstock as president, and Gage, with Needham, as the first- and second- vice-presidents respectively.³⁰⁹

Gage assumed the responsibilities of president of the company when John Comstock was first incapacitated in 1926 with an official declaration following two years later.³¹⁰ He retained this position for the duration of his life remaining unalterably conscientious of the legacy of the Comstock-name.



When Herrick first came to Ithaca, New York in 1892 to attend Cornell University he was given a room in the Comstocks' Insectary built four years before for aid in the study of insects.

Attending to the furnace and greenhouses of the building were to be part of Herrick's duties in exchange for the room. The roommate who greeted Herrick upon his arrival was **George Lincoln Burr**.

Burr was a part of the social circle of young professors of Cornell who, during the time of the University's foundation years, formed long and lasting relationships with each other. Entering Cornell University in 1877, Burr graduated in 1881, and was quickly appointed instructor in History at Cornell, as well as personal secretary to President Andrew D. White. Burr has been largely attributed to the impressive growth and acquisitions of White's library during his tenure with White, and as the chief librarian of the collection he helped to create from White's death until his own in 1938.³¹¹ Burr became both Assistant Professor and Professor of History as well as Professor of medieval literature at Cornell. A fiercely private man, Burr made his home under the eaves of his closest friends, John and Anna Comstock. Not only in his early years, but later in life when tragedy would envelope Burr, would he return to the solace and familiarity of his dear ones.³¹² For most of his life, the Comstocks were an extended family for Burr, just as they were for many others who they welcomed to their hearth. Burr, however, held a very protective loyalty to their memory.



The 1938 Publication Attempt

Specific information could not be uncovered as to when Simon Gage first received the Comstock-manuscript. With the executors of the Comstock estate, in different areas of the country (Herrick in San Antonio, Texas and Russell in Ithaca, New York), Herrick may have agreed to give Gage possession in 1931 as Gage was still President of the Comstock Publishing Company. It seems to have been both Gage's and Herrick's intentions to write Mrs. Comstock's autobiographical book from her manuscript, however, it was tabled for several years by Gage.³¹³ Herrick retired from his faculty position at Cornell University in 1935 as Gage worked on the 16th edition of his lauded book, *The Microscope*, later published in 1936.

An exchange of twenty-one letters began in 1937 with Herrick enthusiastically writing about his pet-project to Gage. In the two years since his retirement from Cornell, Herrick had acquired possession of the Manuscript, and began editing the autobiographical material of Anna Botsford Comstock with the intentions of publishing the memoirs. He completed his preliminary editing of the entire document, adding a couple of pages after her last chapter, and reformulating a section about the Comstocks' deaths.

Herrick told Gage, in his August 17, 1937 letter, that "*the manuscript is going to make a very interesting book. It is not only a narrative of two fine, able persons but it constitutes a valuable addition to Cornelliana - a unique contribution to the history and development of Cornell University.*"³¹⁴ Herrick believed that a book written from the manuscript would have a wide audience outside of the Cornell community, and predicted a "*wide and remunerative sale*"

adding, *"I think it ought to be published as early as possible."*³¹⁵ Herrick also proposed two early titles for the manuscript, as it was not titled by Comstock, for Gage's consideration:

*"Our Years Together as Teachers, Scientists
And Writers; an Autobiography of John Henry
Comstock and Anna Botsford Comstock.*

"This title suggested itself, or grew out of the following reflections induced from my long and intimate work with the manuscript and of my close association with the Comstocks for so many years.

*"The life of John Henry Comstock cannot be separated from the life of Anna Botsford Comstock. Each was a complement of the other and although each failed to marry a first love, both found that vital and final satisfaction in their wedded life that comes to but few husbands and wives."*³¹⁶

Herrick's enthusiasm has him mentioning the inclusion of Burr in reading the manuscript before proposing the second title:

"Another Possible Title.

"In Chap. 14, Mrs. Comstock, in speaking of the ties which bound them to the little cottage on the Campus, used this phrase, "and the working out of a life program together." This happy phrase suggests the title:

*"A Life Program Together as Teachers, Scientists and
Writers; an Autobiography etc.*

"The following excerpt from a letter of Prof. Comstock indicates what he thought of their lives and work together: "Our lives would be a good deal of a failure if one of us should break down before the book is done, It is to be our book; not a book projected by us and finished by someone else."

Moreover, he knew what she was writing, gave her aid in supplying data and approved of it.

*-G.W.H."*³¹⁷

In the RMC collections, there is an absence of correspondence between Herrick's initial letter of August 17, 1937 and the next known letter in the thread. During this period, Gage was preparing

his early work for the 17th edition of his book, *The Microscope*. The next piece of correspondence regarding the Manuscript was a letter from George Burr to Gage at the turn of the new year, January 1938. The letter suggests not only an early initiation of dialogue between Gage and Burr in regards to Comstock's manuscript, but Burr's firm conviction to keep the Comstock-manuscript intact:

*"I am glad, too, that you have decided to print the Comstock autobiography. I was much too sinical (Sic.) in suggesting that it depend on its worth as literature --and especially after Glenn too has put so much time on it. I am glad to know that Harry had so set his heart on having it printed. I had gone myself over but a small part of it. Parts of it, I know, are both interesting and well told, and all of it can sure be made so. But I am glad that you keep, too, the original MS. In full--and in the Library."*³¹⁸

Gage wrote a *Preface* Herrick's proposed book and sent copies to both Herrick and Burr.³¹⁹ Herrick seemed very pleased with Gage's efforts and expressed as much, in a brief letter at the end of January 1938, along with some concerns.³²⁰ Burr also reviewed Gage's proposed *Preface*, but his notations are not preserved in Gage's archival holdings.³²¹ Professor Burr also received a letter from Herrick apprising him of the progress of the manuscript's acceptance for publication, and requesting that Burr reexamine the section of the manuscript pertaining to the loss of his wife.³²² Of the letters preserved from the exchanges that occurred in January 1938, the publication project of the Comstock manuscript had a strong, enthusiastic beginning from all parties involved.

In February 1938, plans were initiated for the Comstock-manuscript to go to the printer. There are three letters preserved in the archive holdings, for this period, from Herrick to Gage. Herrick was desirous to review the manuscript another time before its send-off. There is a slight rumbling

in Herrick's letters of wanting to reconsider what he termed "*some not very important points*" of the manuscript,³²³ and that with the format of the title he was "...*convinced that Professor Comstock's name should be written in full wherever it appears in the title.*"³²⁴ The February 16, 1938-letter is significant for two reasons. First, it is the first time that "*The Comstocks of Cornell,*" as suggested by James G. Needham, for the book's title is mentioned. Secondly, is the involvement of Comstock Publishing Company's manager, Woodford Patterson, in reviewing the manuscript.³²⁵ Herrick expressed a bit of trepidation of Patterson's participation with the publishing endeavor when the manuscript was sent to Comstock Publishing assistant manager, Stanley Schaefer.^{326, 327}

The next exchange of letters occurred between February 16th and April 12th in 1938. Before April 12th, Herrick did write to Burr reiterating his suggestion for Burr to make any desired changes to the Comstock-manuscript, as Herrick first proposed in his January 27, 1938 letter to Burr. The response from Burr was swift, and terse:

"Dear Glenn,

*Your letter of April 10 with its enclosures reaches me this afternoon. So averse am I to the changing of anybody's manuscript--and especially to the changing of anybody's who can no longer be consulted--that I am not at all sure that, were I the responsible editor, I could bring myself to do it. But that isn't what you ask me. You ask me only how, if I were willing to change it, I would prefer to do so--and that I cannot see why I should not tell. I shall still feel free, if I can not (Sic.) conquer the aversion, to try to dissuade you from doing it."*³²⁸

This is the last letter from Burr to Herrick in terms of the documentation preserved in Herrick's archival holdings. There is no further communication preserved between Burr with the others on his position in regards to changing the manuscript's contents.

Through May 1938, Professor Gage worked on his *Preface* for the Comstock-manuscript before its submission for review by the Comstock Publishing Company manager, **Woodford Patterson**.

Woodford Patterson was affiliated with Cornell University for the greater part of his life from when he entered as a freshman in 1891 to his retirement in 1941. During his tenure at Cornell, Patterson was editor of the Cornell Alumni News, and Secretary of the University, until 1940 when he became Secretary Emeritus.³²⁹ Patterson was considered “*a man of rare culture,” erudite in his diverse interests, and composed many of the inscriptions for the University buildings.*³³⁰ A religious man, Patterson was charming and “*had a great give for companionship, and was admired for his integrity, his modesty, and his warm humanity.*”³³¹

It may have been Gage’s intention to include the *Preface* as a stand-alone tribute to the memory of the Comstocks. He either spoke, or wrote, to ask his colleagues their opinion of which format, a signed or unsigned *Preface*, would be the better choice. Letters from Herrick to Gage, earlier in the month, tell of Herrick’s apprehension of leaving the *Preface* unsigned:

May 2, 1938

"Dear Professor Gage, -

You spoke the other day of not signing the Preface to the Comstock Autobiography. I am apprehensive that readers might think I had spoken of myself and had written the Preface. I should feel badly if such were the case. I wish you could add your initials and those of Dr. Needham, something like the following: S.H.G./J.G.N

There would be no objection, it seems to me, if Professor Burr's initials were added. Very sincerely yours, Glenn W. Herrick" (signed)

Gage objected to the initials, opting for full signatures, as Herrick’s response to him ten days later acquiesced.³³² What is noteworthy of Herrick’s response is the mention of Gage, Needham, and Burr becoming sponsors of the book. Not only were the latter three emotionally invested in the project, but they were also willing to finance the endeavor. Their exchange of letters to one

another is more personal than in correspondence with Herrick. Letters to Gage, from both Needham and Burr, regarding this detail of the Preface have been preserved in Gage's archival holdings at the RMC at Cornell. Each letter is significant for different reasons. The Needham-letter is structured as well as supportive of Gage as he organizes the manuscript and writes the *Preface*. There is also seems to be a background debate occurring with the title of the book, and "*The Comstocks of Cornell*" is laid aside for the time-being.³³³ The Burr-letter is emotional in addition to its support for Gage. The derision of his inclusion with Gage and Needham on the *Preface* underscores Burr's humbleness for his association with the project.³³⁴

The letters discussing the *Preface* of the Manuscript demonstrate not only the regard each of the sponsors had for each other, but also how Herrick was kept at an arm's-length with succinct exchanges. This disunion, albeit polite, would shift the sway of the men with the death of Professor Burr in June. The letters documented here, in the last months of Burr's life, are some of the final statements regarding his opinion of publication of the Comstock-manuscript after an extensive search of the archival holdings of Burr, Gage, Needham, and Herrick. There is brief exchange between Gage with Herrick and Needham in early-June. Burr is mentioned as being consulted in the June letters, but he was already declining. These letters were in regards to including a "Forward" to accommodate the names of Needham and Burr in acknowledgement. Gage reiterates, in nearly identical letters, the pending-book as a "*publication of [this] autobiography*" to both men and receives two very different responses from Needham³³⁵ and Herrick.³³⁶

There is a level of detachment in Herrick's response in, what may have been, an exciting time for all. Gage was assembling all the document sections of the Manuscript to be mailed to Woodford Patterson, and expressed his hopes to "proceed immediately with the publication."^{337, 338} The letter, with corresponding package, was dated three days before Professor George Lincoln Burr's death.

Burr's death is one prong of two cardinal events that ultimately affected the publication of *The Comstocks of Cornell* in 1953. The second prong of the fork, that skewered the project until the later date, was Woodford Patterson's July 19, 1938-letter to the Board of Directors of Comstock Publishing Company, of which, Simon Henry Gage was president. In his four-page review of the manuscript, Patterson's reprehension for the document is made clear on every page. If it was an objective point of view that Gage sought in reaching out to Patterson, it is indeed, what he received. With his critical eye, Patterson culled from the manuscript great sections of work by Mrs. Comstock's hand with a purple china-marker.³³⁹ The last two-hundred and thirty pages of the manuscript were crossed through with the waxy pencil and "Out" was boldly written in large letters across the first page of each eliminated chapter. Other sections peppered throughout the manuscript were eliminated likewise. To Patterson, the pages may have seemed inconsequential, but to Mrs. Comstock these were memories she wrote in the present-tense, as she sat at her typewriter thinking back upon her and her husband's professional life, marriage, and private life, as he lay in an invalid state in a near-by room.

In his detailed letter to the Board, Patterson writes "*My conviction of the publication would be a blunder...*"³⁴⁰ and that Comstock's manuscript "*...has become a desultory recital of loosely*

related occupations and diversions at home or in her travels.”³⁴¹ Patterson continues, “*The style of this book is repulsive. Its diffuseness and disorder and aimless shifting of the focus of attention all combine to make it tiresome reading.*”³⁴² Lastly, Patterson concludes, “*...the story becomes a trickle of miscellaneous reminiscences which goes on without any order except that of chronological succession until the end.*”³⁴³ The singular phrase which may have convinced Gage to pull the manuscript from publication may have been Patterson’s parting comments:

*“It is not such a book as a publisher, having due regard for His own self-respect and the author's reputation, would print and offer for sale and expose to the cold scrutiny of critics. I am afraid that some reviewers would say that the author's Friends ought to have suppressed a book which shows so many signs of having been written in her dotage.”*³⁴⁴

Patterson’s critique must have been a shock to Gage; however, with the respectability which Patterson commanded at the University (and without Burr to defend the merits of the Manuscript’s historicity), Gage heeded his advice. Gage did not entertain the idea of some of Patterson’s proposal to “add the document to the University Library’s collection of Cornelliana.”³⁴⁵ The Woodford Patterson letter of July 19, 1938 to the Board of the Comstock Publishing Company is, in its entirety, in the Appendix of this dissertation.

The response of Needham or Herrick to the letter are unknown. There is indication in Gage’s papers that Herrick may have felt wounded by Patterson’s remarks and still desired to salvage publication efforts.³⁴⁶ Gage, protective over the Comstock-legacy, may have held concerns over Herrick’s request for the *Introduction* (this may have been a compilation of the *Preface* and *Forward* discussed in the correspondence before Burr’s death). Within Gage’s archival holding are two small note cards with typewritten discussion points. Gage wrote the points for a meeting

he was arranging with Herrick for some time in the month of August. Gage enumerates on the cards that he desires to sway Herrick from publishing the Comstock-manuscript because it may be overwrought with trivia and diminishes the Comstocks' professional contributions. In a revelation of Gage's sentiments, he portends Herrick's direction of publication of the manuscript over a decade-and-a-half later, with the bold notation, "*Prof. Comstock, the real original character altogether subordinated to Mrs. Comstock who was a forceful character but only with 2d hand material. He with first hand and creative.*"³⁴⁷ For one so endeared to Professor Comstock as Herrick was, this may have been the tipping point for withdrawing the manuscript from publication, despite an offer of remuneration for his contributions and the prospect of producing a Comstock-biography upon further "*critical examination.*"³⁴⁸

The Comstock-manuscript was rightly Herrick's property, as one of the executors of their estate, cousin of Mrs. Comstock, and that the document is currently within Herrick's archival holdings at RMC. All are indications that he left with the document in his possession from the meeting with Gage, however, perhaps not entirely persuaded. Gage, on the other hand, wrote a final letter to Patterson on September 1st, 1938, what would have been Mrs. Comstock's eighty-fourth birthday:

“Dear Mr. Patterson:

I have just had a most satisfactory talk with Professor Herrick concerning the Comstock autobiography. I told him how badly you and I both feel that it is not in a form which would redound to the honor of The Comstocks. It is so lacking in a clear-cut statement concerning the truly great service both of them rendered We think it would take from the estimate in which they were and are held.

He without hesitation conceded that all the objections were valid, and expressed his own doubts about the wisdom of publishing it, and spoke of Professor Burr's hesitancy when asked about his opinion.

I told him that what you and I desired to have done was that he join us in asking that the manuscript be withdrawn from publication as a further study of it had convinced us that it would not be wise to publish it. He very willingly agreed to join us in asking its withdrawal.

I spoke to him of our appreciation of the time and effort he had put into trying to make the original manuscript suitable for publication, and both of us had thought independently of asking the Company to give him an honorarium, but he said it was done wholly from his affection for the Comstocks, and he would not think of accepting anything.

I know you will join me in rejoicing that now we can do what we think is for the best and that no bitterness will be left in the heart of any one.

*Yours sincerely, Simon H. Gage [signed]
President of the Comstock Publishing Co. Inc. ”³⁴⁹*

Patterson’s reply to Gage eleven days later relays a sense of relief and “...*delight to know that the matter of the Comstock Autobiography has been settled so wisely and harmoniously.*”³⁵⁰



Handlers of the Comstock Manuscript



Ruby Green Smith
was a Cornell professor in
Home Economics and
wrote *The People's
Colleges* (1949).



Glenn Herrick
was a professor of
entomology at Cornell,
secretary to the Comstock
Publishing Company, and
Anna Comstock's cousin.



Francis Wormuth
was a scholar in
constitutional law
at the University
of Utah.



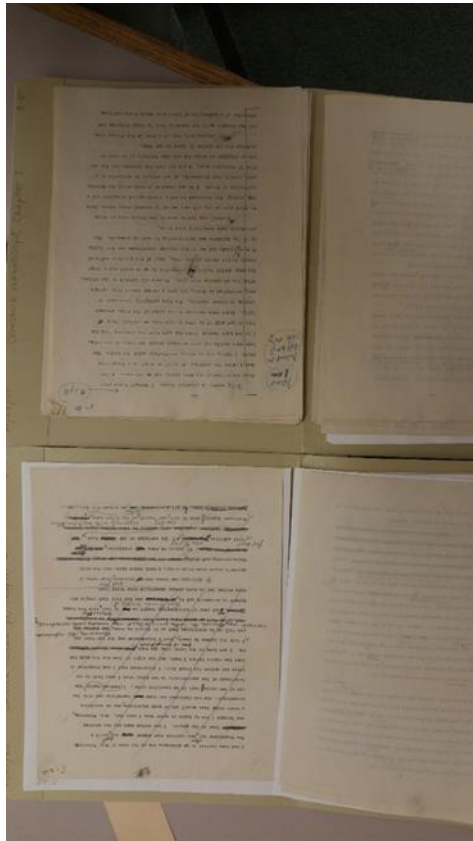
Simon Henry Gage
was a Cornell professor
in Biology and
Embryology, and
personal friend to
Comstocks



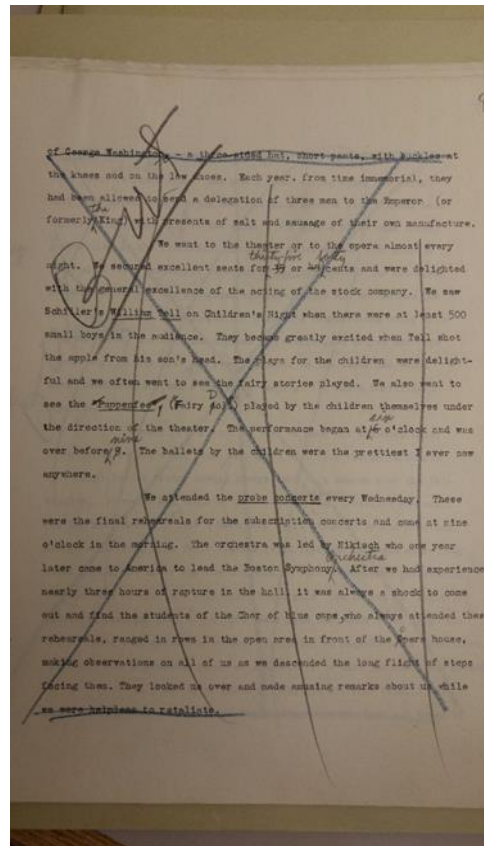
George Lincoln Burr
was a Cornell professor in
History, personal secretary
to President Andrew D.
White, and close personal
friend to the Comstocks.



Woodford Patterson
was Secretary to Cornell
in 1917-1940, and
University Publisher 1917-
1941.



Comparison of biography edits:
Anna Botsford Comstock (bottom)
and John Henry Comstock (top).
Photo by KSt



Example of Woodford
Patterson edit on the
Comstock-manuscript.
Photo by KSt.

Examples of edits made to the Comstock-manuscript.

The 1953-Publication Endeavor

For as meticulous a man Glenn Washington Herrick was with his personal notations in his daily diary entries there is no mention in his 1938-diary of his August meeting with Professor Gage. Nor is there any indication in his diaries when Herrick decided to publish the Comstock-manuscript as lead editor. What is known is that when Herrick decided to publish the manuscript anyone who may have held even a slight objection was dead.³⁵¹ Patterson's death in 1948 marked the last of three men who Herrick would have had strong contention with if he expressed his desire to publish.³⁵² Herrick was free to do his own bidding, and with Patterson's death so close to the publication date, it may have been the impetus for action. For the 1953-publication project of *Comstocks of Cornell*, Herrick enlisted the help of two colleagues for combing through the manuscript and offering suggestions for the book.

Ruby Green Smith's (1878-1960) connection to Herrick was most certainly through the Comstock's influence on many levels. Smith wrote an extensive article for *Cornell Alumni* magazine in 1945 which alluded to the Comstock-manuscript and used Needham's suggestion, "Comstocks of Cornell," in her title. Smith, as one of the Comstocks' contemporaries, made the first attempt to document the Comstocks and their lives.^{353, 354}

Smith had a long and commendable career which carried her through the echelons of a New York State Home Demonstration Agent to its subsequent State leader upon the untimely death of the formidable Martha van Rensselaer in 1932. Smith also held the title of extension professor in the two years which followed in the Department of Home Economics at Cornell University. Her years of work and service in extension led to her magna opus, *The People's College*, in 1949.

Not only would she set aside her own project for the Comstock-manuscript, but this work would serve as resume for the task Herrick was enlisting her towards. Smith's own education and intelligence were not trifle contributions to the work of editing Comstock's manuscript.

Smith received both her BA (zoology) in 1902 and her MA (entomology) in 1904 from Stanford University. Through her work and timely association with noted Stanford biologist, Vernon L. Kellogg, she would be introduced to the Comstocks. Kellogg's own long-standing relationship with the Comstocks spanned the whole of their professional lives, and included interchangeable sabbaticals and graduate work at the other's university. It was most certainly through this connection that brought Smith to Ithaca, New York where, in 1905 she married Albert L. Smith in the Comstocks' living room, and in 1914 she received her Ph. D. in entomology under Professor Comstock's tutelage.³⁵⁵

A woman with a college education at the turn of the twentieth century was a confident being, especially before the ratification of the women's vote with the 19th Amendment to the Constitution in 1920. A woman with three degrees, such as Smith held, was a force to be reckoned with in her own right. Her guiding hand through Comstock's manuscript is unmistakable as one can feel her influence pulling at the editorial decisions made by Herrick and others. Notations made in her hand, both published and unpublished, emulate Smith's role in maintaining Mrs. Comstock's voice through her own document.

Where Herrick would make the notations for a greater portion of entomologists written of in *Comstocks of Cornell*³⁵⁶, Smith would be cognizant of the other notable Cornellians which

Comstock mentioned in her manuscript. In Smith's fourteen footnotes in *Comstocks of Cornell*, only one of them is an entomological reference.³⁵⁷ From the thirteen remaining notes, Smith wrote the only tribute to Mrs. Comstock's nature work that speaks of Comstock's merit:

*"As an educational pioneer, Anna Botsford Comstock's teaching of nature study led to her appointment as a Cornell Professor and as the first head of the University's Nature Study Department. Through her leadership and teaching, her books and other publications, she helped to extend Nature Study, as an academic subject, to the schools and colleges in the United States and in other nations. ---R.G.S."*³⁵⁸

Smith added a decidedly feminine influence in the manuscript as her curvy-lettering politely corrected Herrick's hand, and where she could do so, reinforced Anna Comstock's voice.

§

Francis Dunham Wormuth (1909-1981) seems more like the red-herring within this group of editors than that of collaborator. Wormuth does not share editorship on the title page of *The Comstocks of Cornell* and his name only appears in the *Foreword* written by Herrick in 1951.³⁵⁹ Wormuth, first worked with Herrick in 1935 as a proof-reader for Herrick's *Insect Enemies of Shade Trees*.³⁶⁰

For his part, at the time Herrick reached out to him, Wormuth was considered a distinguished professor of Political Science at the University of Utah. He was highly regarded by both his students and peers: considered by one of his colleagues as "*the most outstanding teacher in the history of the Political Science Department*"³⁶¹ and described as "*an institution in his own right*"³⁶². Personal correspondence to him, which survives in the University of Utah archives,

attest to the enduring and appreciative relationships Wormuth fostered, the high regard held by his former students, and the moral compass with which Wormuth directed his life. Considered one of the founding pillars for the Political Science Department at the University of Utah, he was honored with an endowed chair bearing his name.³⁶³ Wormuth began his illustrious career at Cornell at the time the Comstocks were closing final chapters on the book of their own life's work. He graduated in the spring of 1930 from the Ithaca campus at about the time Mrs. Comstock was finishing her manuscript.³⁶⁴

Wormuth was a prolific and skilled writer. He was awarded in 1929 both the Cornell University Guilford Prize and the Cornell University Messenger Prize for his work on "*Macaulay*" and "*The History of English Thought, a Sketch*," respectively.³⁶⁵ Upon his graduation in 1930, he continued to law school where he served as student assistant to George Jarvis Thompson, and was credited for his "*efficient services*" in the preparation of a series of articles by Thompson.³⁶⁶ Another accolade came in 1934 when he was awarded the Cornell University Sherman-Bennett Prize on the "*Constitutional Theory of Sir Edward Coke*."³⁶⁷

In disciplines that are seemingly world apart, Wormuth's connection to Herrick may be rudimentary at best. However, a connection may lie within the weft of the cloth that bind Cornell alumni to one another. Marian L. Wormuth, sister to Professor Wormuth, received her BA from Cornell in 1936 and went on to work in the Department of Agricultural Economics as a statistical clerk on Cornell's campus.³⁶⁸ A close-knit community then, as now, Ms. Wormuth lived but a short distance from the Herrick household.³⁶⁹ Even less improbable is the overlap of information and data that would have shared between the departments of Agricultural Economics and Entomology at that time. Working acquaintanceships, as well as community members, may

have certainly put all the players within working circles of one another let alone a basic awareness of their professional influences.



Discussion

In comparing handwriting samples of Mrs. Comstock, Herrick, Smith, and Wormuth it is the latter who contributed least to the editing of the Comstock-manuscript with light penciled corrections of punctuation. Smith's stylized hand, attributed to the nib-pens of the day, is also lightly penciled with sweeping stop-and-start points of her printing. Mrs. Comstock used a nib pen with ink for minor corrections to her typing. Glenn Herrick used a thick-lined pencil, most often, with a discernible shake to his characteristic hand-writing. These markings are layered under Woodford Patterson's purple china-marker X's that cover hundreds of pages of the manuscript.

The omissions determined by Patterson are one-sided. The edits on the manuscript pages of ABC's life are remarkably defaced in comparison with manuscript-pages of JHC. This marking is supported by the Woodford Patterson letter of July 19, 1938 in comments he made to Simon Gage regarding Mrs. Comstock.³⁷⁰ The Patterson-letter is the turning point in the chain of events that not only marred the Manuscript, and thereby, Mrs. Comstock's legacy; but the letter also put a halt to any publication aspirations by Herrick in 1938.

However, with the Manuscript, completely in his charge afterward, Herrick had an opportunity to reverse at best, or amend in the least, a measure of the marks Patterson made to the document.

The purple-X's that cover more than half of the pages of the manuscript are the pages that are predominantly the voice of Mrs. Comstock, inclusive of her intonation, and diction. The following example paragraph is from page 4-30 of the Manuscript:

“There was a "select school" in Otto, *conducted by Miss Maria Calver and her younger sisters, Jennie and Mary.* I attended this school for the first year after we moved into our new home. **The Calvers** were superior women, **and were cultured** and interesting; **the two younger were** my life-long friends, as they married and lived near us. It was in this school that I saw pupils taking lessons in oil painting; I longed to be one of them, but I was consoled by taking a few drawing lessons. I met here Etta Holbrook **and Mary Hunt and formed lasting friendships with them.**”³⁷¹

The *ITALICIZED*-font is indicative of phrasing removed from the book. The words in **BOLD**-font were changed to another form by the editors. Both actions were taken if the phrase exhibits each font-change. In comparison, from the published *Comstocks of Cornell*:

“There was a “select school” in Otto that I attended for the first year after we moved into our new home. The teachers were superior women, cultivated and interesting; two of them became my lifelong friends, for they married and lived near us. In this school, I saw pupils taking lessons in oil painting; I longed to be one of them, but I was consoled by taking a few drawing lessons. Here I met Etta Holbrook and other lasting friends.”³⁷²

This example demonstrates an emotional change of tone, vocabulary diminishment, omission of persons, and nipped emotional connections of Anna Comstock spoiled by the editing. In juxtaposition, here is an example of Comstock's writing taken from her book, *Confessions to a Heathen Idol*, based on her personal diaries and stylized into the novel:

“September 18th: --Wooden Image, do you realize how many of our mortal days we have to live through and how few we are privileged to truly live? Days when one wishes at dawn that it were sunset because of the unsatisfying hours which must intervene—days of fretful, unexpected duties, that take one away from wholesome living. The unusual duty

is almost always exhausting; I detest the unusual with a perfect detestation which out to touch a sympathetic chord in your unvarying breast.

“I am never so well satisfied with my life as when I drink it every day from day-dawn to star-dawn in hearty, thirsty swallows, and find no time to sit and reflect upon the flavor and wonder is another brand had better suited me.

“I am convinced that productive labor is the best of all our activities to make the day happy and the night satisfied. I have never ceased to be grateful that in those desperate days of early widowhood I learned to use my hands to some purpose. Wood-carving may not be the highest form of art, but it is one of Art’s worthy ministers; and it has been the saving of me as surely as it has been the shaping of you, small god. I loved the work from the first, and the fact that I really achieved a fair success in it has always been a comfort to me.

“A woman is so given to frittering away her energies because of her many interests! The diversity of her duties lead almost inevitably to lack of definite purpose and concentration.”³⁷³

Confessions is an artifact of Comstock’s personal diaries, “Journal Intime,”³⁷⁴ that is not found in the personal papers within the Comstock-holdings of the RMC archives. The diaries existence are only known from what she recorded in *Comstocks of Cornell*. She addressed her diary entries to a wooden teak statuette gifted to her by Mary Rogers Miller’s husband, Wilhelm.³⁷⁵ It is from these entries that she crafted her novel under a pseudonym, Marian Lee, for its first publication. From her novel Comstock’s own written language is sonorous with purposeful vocabulary and unfettered emotion. The themes Comstock addresses, through the guise of her characters, are weighty and often debated by her protagonist with those in her immediate circle of family or friends.³⁷⁶ Comstock’s style of writing is unique to her personality neither of which resonates in the *Comstocks of Cornell*.

The next example is of the palimpsestic editing pattern referred to on page 47 in this dissertation.

It is a segment of the Manuscript from pages 6-21 to 6-23:

“Commissioner Le Duc was *a character*. He was a man of indomitable will and combativeness, imperious, and impatient at obstacles, not very tactful, but loyal and devoted to the people he trusted, or to {end of page 6-21} a cause he had undertaken. He was a big, handsome man with abundant gray hair, gray pointed beard *and rather portly but active*. *General Tecumseh Sherman once said to a friend of ours, "O, I used to know him when he was Bill Duke, years ago when I was a red-headed, barefoot boy, and Bill was a shock-headed barefoot boy. He and Garfield and Blaine and I all used to go to the District School together in Ohio. Bill Duke was a little thick-headed in those days but he had a good heart."* He was nearing the age of seventy-five when we knew him. He had fought in the Civil War and was made Brevet Brigadier General of the U. S. V. *He fought by the side of Thomas at Lookout Mountain and was wholeheartedly devoted to his superior officer. He used to tell me of General Thomas, his voice thrilling with emotion.* He was rather overbearing at times, with newspaper reporters, which was the underlying cause of bitter attacks on him in certain journals. After one of these attacks some reporters came up to the Department to get his reaction. He pointed to a span of mules that happened to be standing on the roadway and said; "Gentlemen, I am too wise to start a kicking match with those mules, -- I have nothing to say." We were associated closely with him for two years and had an excellent opportunity to judge him. We found he had always fore-most in his mind and efforts, the welfare of farmers and the advancement of agriculture. *After he retired, he went back to his native town of Hastings, Minnesota, and, in his later years, became deeply interested in life after death. After he was ninety he wrote a remarkable pamphlet entitled: "If a man die; shall he live again? {end of page 6-22} Job XVI-14. When, where, how?" I had several letters from him concerning this publication and he seemed mentally as vigorous as ever.*

By the middle of November, the Report was nearly completed and I went to Otto for a rest, when the Report was sent to the printer Mr. Comstock followed me. It was wonderful vacation. There was so much to talk about with the parents; and the Cattaraugus hills were beautiful in their rich autumn coloring. ON our way back we stopped at Ithaca and had a delightful visit with various friends, especially with the Roberts. Mr. Howard, and with Professor Russel, who seemed to feel our absence more than did the others. Mr. Gage returned to Washington with us, and soon after we arrived Professor [C.H.] Fernald was our guest also. The two men visited interesting places in Washington while we were at the office, and, during the evenings we went to the theater

*or called on friends. Although we were not housekeeping, we had much company. My college chum, Minerva Palmer, at that time studying medicine in Philadelphia, spent several days with us. One of our interesting excursions was through Alexandria. At Washington's church, we made friends with the old sexton, who voluntarily acted as our guide about the city. He took us to Washington's lodge room, showed us his chair, the charter granted to the lodge when Washington was Master, the silver trowel with which Washington officially laid the corner stone of the Capitol, and a handsome silk Masonic apron embroidered for and present to Washington by Madame Lafayette. My father was a very devoted Mason and I had been reared to hold this order in great respect. {end of page 6-23}*³⁷⁷

The first paragraph, predominantly page 6-22, is clean of markings and kept intact in the Manuscript, for publication consideration, without omissions. A careful examination of both the Manuscript and the Comstock-book, with a comparison of five words at a time from each, revealed the discrepancy not clear. The **BOLD**-font in this paragraph represents what was omitted from the *Comstocks of Cornell*-book. The second paragraph, *ITALICIZED*-font, was marked with a large purple 'X' and omitted, along with pages 6-24 and 6-25, from the Manuscript. These pages of the Manuscript, described above, appear in the book as follows:

*“Commissioner LeDuc was an aggressive man of indomitable will, combative, imperious, impatient of obstacles, and not very tactful, but loyal and devoted to people he trusted or to a cause he had undertaken. He was a big, handsome man near the age of seventy-five when we knew him, with abundant gray hair and gray pointed beard. In the Civil War, he had been made Brevet Brigadier General of United States Volunteers. LeDuc was overbearing, at times, with reporters, which provoked bitter attacks on him in certain newspapers. After one of these attacks, some reporters came up to the Department to get his reaction. He pointed to a span of mules standing in the street and said: “Gentlemen, I am too wise to start a kicking match with those mules. I have nothing to say.” In our two years of close association with Commissioner LeDuc, we had an excellent opportunity to judge him, and we found that he always had foremost in mind the welfare of farmers and the advancement of agriculture.”*³⁷⁸

Simon Gage made an impression upon Herrick when he entreated Herrick not to publish the manuscript because, as Gage claimed, Professor Comstock was subordinated to his wife in the document. The reverberation of this conversation from 1938 gave Herrick the personal justification he needed in the early 1950s to reconcile that the X's covering the pages were correct in their editing. A preservation of John Henry Comstock's entomological legacy, and the suppression of Anna Comstock's legacy on many fronts, may have begun with the spark of this thought in Herrick's mind.

Herrick did not attempt to correct the edited manuscript back to its original 1937-format when he had the chance to, he removed pages from the manuscript, as well as removed a complete chapter (Chapter XIV), and potentially burned them.³⁷⁹ In all of Herrick's notation booklets and diaries he maintained from 1917-1963 there is no other entry of documents being burned except in the two instances of 1955, shortly after the publication of the *Comstocks of Cornell*-book, and 1957, four days after the death of close Comstock-friend, James G. Needham. Left in the Manuscript, at the front of Chapter XV, is a hand-written note from Herrick stating that he, "*Cannot account for Chapter XIV.*" The note is written with in thick pencil with a poor penmanship characteristic of the notations seen in Herrick's diaries in the last decade of his life. As discussed earlier in this dissertation (page 54), Herrick first mentioned a "shake in his arm" in his 1956 diary. Careful examination of his diaries show his hand-writing beginning to slip soon after his retirement in 1935, followed by the one-word diary entries a decade hence. This infirmity which possessed Herrick provides an excellent reference for the passage of time as the legibility of Herrick's hand-writing worsens as he grows older.

For as meticulous as Herrick was in recording the daily events of his affairs he never once made mention of the Manuscript in his detailed diaries: not that he was reworking it, nor publishing it, nor even a notation when the book finally became public. After their deaths in August 1930 (ABC) and March 1931 (JHC), Herrick never mentioned the Comstocks in his diaries again.

§

There are 320 pages of the manuscript missing based upon the count Woodford Patterson gave upon his receipt of the document in comparison with the number of pages in the Comstock archival holding at RMC. Missing from the manuscript are other educators in the nature study movement, as discussed here in this dissertation, and other notable personalities both Comstocks knew. ABC's language and emotional prompts that are characteristic of her story-telling style is diminished, or removed, from the book leaving Herrick's voice to tell the Comstocks' story.

Herrick presented his version of the book, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, to the Cornell community in both entomological and nature study fields, in general, as a foundation text³⁸⁰, and it has served as a foundation text for the biographies of both the Comstocks for decades since its only publication.³⁸¹ Scores of articles and books, since 1953 have used this book, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, for direct biographical quotes about both Comstocks. Herrick had sycophantic tendencies for publishing *Comstocks of Cornell*, despite objections from Gage, Burr, and Patterson. Herrick, perhaps even circumventing *his own* objections to Patterson's original critique, contributed to a premeditated, and immolated, version of *Comstocks of Cornell*. Herrick

continued to press forward with the publication of the book, is suspect for burning the papers, and he solicited the book as his own book up to a month before his own death.³⁸²

One can truly appreciate the work of an editor and the undaunted task that can be held before them when a manuscript is presented for their scrutiny. However, one cannot help but think that what was originally distilled from *The Comstocks of Cornell* left but a diluted brew of the lives led and personalities of the Comstocks, especially Mrs. Comstock. Both Herrick and Patterson removed the emotional grit of the attachments Mrs. Comstock held to the objects, people, or situations significant to her throughout the Comstocks' lives. The essential core that supported the fruit of Mrs. Comstock's persona was removed by Herrick's over-enthusiastic admiration for Professor Comstock and Patterson's critical hand.³⁸³

§

The book *Comstocks of Cornell* is an incomplete representation of the personality and events of the notable Comstock professors, particularly of ABC, because of the mishandling of her autobiographical manuscript.

What I Know

- ABC's manuscript was heavily edited in the chapters of her life, and in the sections where she expresses her opinion and/or emotions.
- JHC's life events are intact, and only self-deprecating statements or emotions are removed.
- Other Cornell persona have been edited and/or removed.

What I Infer

- Herrick presented his version of *The Comstocks of Cornell* to the Cornell University community, entomological and nature study fields, and, in general, to posterity as *the foundation text* of the biography of both Professor and Mrs. Comstock.
- Herrick did not attempt to correct the edited manuscript to its original 1937 format.
- Herrick removed pages and a complete chapter; and potentially destroyed them.
- Scores of articles and books which referenced the CoC-book have been effected since the book's publication in 1953.

Chapter V: Conclusion

The Nature Study Movement of the late 19th- and early 20th -centuries still fascinate us today. Authors such as Kohlstedt³⁸⁴ and Armitage³⁸⁵ have produced research in the last decade that nature-lovers and nature-educators alike have found charming, if not interesting, as it is discovered there was an entire movement of education dotting solely on bringing children “a sense of companionship with life out of doors”³⁸⁶ long before cultural movements of today spoke of sustainability, permaculture, or interpretive signage in a garden. The early nature movements that laid the foundation of nature education we have today, spoke of the same “garden-based learning,”³⁸⁷ an “abiding love of nature,”³⁸⁸ and “methods and observations.”³⁸⁹ The concepts of nature education we have today were shaped over a century by educators such as John Walton Spencer, Alice McCloskey, Liberty Hyde Bailey, and Anna Botsford Comstock. Their voices are part of a choir whose resonance carries a collective song of the ideals they held, the children they touched, and the tireless effort they made in the work they accomplished. A diminishment of any of their voices creates a dissonance in the history of this composition.

Glenn Washington Herrick presented his version of *The Comstocks of Cornell* to the Cornell University community, entomological and nature study fields, and, in general, to posterity as what L'Eplattenier describes as *the foundation text*³⁹⁰ of the biography of both Professor and Mrs. Comstock. The book was accepted with trust by all in the chain of this document's history because Herrick continued to press forward with the publication of *Comstocks of Cornell* representing it as a foundation text in the years after each of the Comstocks' deaths. Perhaps the work that Herrick allowed to be published was more of a teleological bend³⁹¹, or moral obligation for a desirable end, than sycophantic, as in an obsequious deference, or fawning. I

would argue that the teleological process might be the case as Herrick the Historian, but the latter (sycophantic) is more probable as Herrick the Archivist.

Should the dinner parties, instructions to her maid, or Mr. Comstock's bowel habits been removed from the Comstock manuscript for the book's publication? The answer from this researcher is a cautious "perhaps." On the one side, the minutia may have been inconsequential. On another side, the memories of both Comstocks were Mrs. Comstock's to share, and her focus was to type their history in meaningful language that reflected their lives together. What may have been inconsequential to the editors were the very memories Mrs. Comstock mentally immersed herself within to comfort her during the last years of her life. The process of editing, in which Mrs. Comstock's manuscript was subjected to, went overboard in the process' exclusions. The process of rewriting a history, whether of a person, or of an event, is so commonplace, and has been such throughout our histories, that the method of historical documentation is more conducive towards an outline of events. Jimerson makes a significant point that professional responsibility lies between archival documentation and human memory of those we biography.³⁹²

The ramifications of such a personal sense of hubris on the part of Herrick created a book that was not a piece of fiction, but not entirely genuine when compared to its manuscript. With the severe edits of Woodford Patterson in place, and the remains of a long-ago conversation (with Simon Gage) seared in his mind, Herrick allowed the first-person narrative of Mrs. Comstock to be changed to a third-person narrative with him as the voice of the Comstocks. Herrick held an enthusiasm for the original intact Manuscript, and was the driving impetus for its publication before Patterson was introduced to the project. Herrick could have changed his mind and

reexamined the Manuscript to pull back in the voice of ABC of her own life. However, the imprint of ABC as a secondary entity to her husband's work may have still held sway in Herrick's mind, and affecting ABC's own memoir.³⁹³

Despite previous objections of Burr (historical: not corrupting someone else's manuscript), Gage (personal: not wanting the Comstocks being represented in a detracted point of view), and Patterson (academic: too personal and trite of a document for scholars of their character and contributions to their fields) Herrick's efforts were *more than* a teleological ethic guiding his motivation, but rather the sycophantic tendency for establishing his name in the timeline of the Comstocks' biography. The weight of Herrick's efforts collapse when one realizes that he was the one who corrupted the *Comstocks of Cornell* in every objectionable point the others hoped to preserve; i.e. historical, personal, and academic.

From this experience, and after reading of the experiences of other researchers, what may frustrate a scholar is the lack of voice their historical person projects because of the alteration of available written records³⁹⁴ While I agree that archival research is mercurial, I also believe that when a history is so altered (as is the case with Herrick over the Comstock manuscript) the original remnants of one's history is the stronger voice in the narrative of one's life. The original manuscript of the autobiography of Mrs. Comstock is the stronger narrative of her genuine voice. The paper-trail of this dissertation brings the research to the conclusion that the story of the loss of Comstock's genuine voice from her Manuscript to printed book, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, is credible.

For Anna Comstock, and for others who worked in nature-study education with her, listening to her genuine voice solidifies the foundation of historical accuracy as we look at the roots of our current sustainability and green-garden efforts. Knowing Comstock opens us to listen to her legacy, and rediscover not only her efforts, but the efforts of her colleagues. There is a completeness with Comstock, and the work of other early nature study educators, that comes full circle as we realize that we teach our children with their lessons.

*“Anna Botsford Comstock, to thy name we sing
As we sit 'round the campfire each night.
And gladly in chorus our voices shall ring
As o'er us the heavens shine bright.
And the work that you've done, we will still carry on
With a will that is lasting and true,
'Neath the hills and the trees, by the lake that you loved
We will always remember you.”³⁹⁵*



Anna Botsford Comstock brought to nature study a realistic and popular voice. She distilled information for the masses, that they could handle intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually.

This work on the Comstock manuscript is relevant today because she is STILL the natural singular voice of nature education.



APPENDIX

Section I. An example of poetry read by Anna Botsford Comstock, and referenced in her novel *Confessions to a Heathen Idol* (1906) and *Handbook of Nature Study* (1911). – KSt.

Extreme Unction by James Russell Lowell.³⁹⁶

Go! leave me, Priest; my soul would be
Alone with the consoler, Death;
Far sadder eyes than thine will see
This crumbling clay yield up its breath;
These shriveled hands have deeper stains
Than holy oil can cleanse away,
Hands that have plucked the world's coarse gains
As erst they plucked the flowers of May.

Call, if thou canst, to these gray eyes
Some faith from youth's traditions wrung;
This fruitless husk which dustward dries
Hath been a heart once, hath been young;
On this bowed head the awful Past
Once laid its consecrating hands;
The Future in its purpose vast
Paused, waiting my supreme commands.

But look! whose shadows block the door?
Who are those two that stand aloof?
See! on my hands this freshening gore
Writes o'er again its crimson proof!
My looked-for death-bed guests are met;
There my dead Youth doth wring its hands,
And there, with eyes that goad me yet,
The ghost of my Ideal stands!

God bends from out the deep and says,
'I gave thee the great gift of life;
Wast thou not called in many ways?
Are not my earth and heaven at strife?
I gave thee of my seed to sow,
Bringest thou me my hundredfold?'
Can I look up with face aglow,
And answer, 'Father, here is gold'?

I have been innocent; God knows
When first this wasted life began,
Not grape with grape more kindly grows,
Than I with every brother-man:
Now here I gasp; what lose my kind,
When this fast ebbing breath shall part?
What bands of love and service bind
This being to a brother heart?

Christ still was wandering o'er the earth Without a
place to lay his head;
He found free welcome at my hearth,
He shared my cup and broke my bread:

Now, when I hear those steps sublime,
That bring the other world to this,
My snake-turned nature, sunk in slime,
Starts sideway with defiant hiss.

Upon the hour when I was born,
God said, 'Another man shall be,'
And the great Maker did not scorn
Out of himself to fashion me:
He sunned me with his ripening looks,
And Heaven's rich instincts in me grew,
As effortless as woodland nooks
Send violets up and paint them blue.

Yes, I who now, with angry tears,
Am exiled back to brutish clod,
Have borne unquenched for fourscore years
A spark of the eternal God;
And to what end? How yield I back
The trust for such high uses given?
Heaven's light hath but revealed a track
Whereby to crawl away from heaven.

Men think it is an awful sight
To see a soul just set adrift
On that drear voyage from whose night
The ominous shadows never lift;
But 'tis more awful to behold
A helpless infant newly born,
Whose little hands unconscious hold
The keys of darkness and of morn.

Mine held them once; I flung away
Those keys that might have open set
The golden sluices of the day,
But clutch the keys of darkness yet;
I hear the reapers singing go
Into God's harvest; I, that might
With them have chosen, here below
Grove shuddering at the gates of night.

O glorious Youth, that once wast mine!
O high Ideal! all in vain
Ye enter at this ruined shrine
Whence worship ne'er shall rise again; Ye enter
at this ruined shrine
Whence worship ne'er shall rise again;
The bat and owl inhabit here,
The snake nests in the altar-stone,
The sacred vessels moulder near,
The image of the God is gone.

Section II. The following *Preface* was written by Simon Henry Gage for the Comstock-manuscript for the 1938-publication proposal. Glenn Herrick's notes are in **BOLD**-font next to the phrase he crossed out. -KSt.

“PREFACE

“~~Characters~~ **(Men and women or Outstanding individuals?)** such as those in this autobiography are most often met with in a new land where opportunity is practically unlimited for brave hearts and clear heads. However, as one ~~goes over~~ **(reads through)** the fascinating pages it becomes clear that in any land and at any time people like the Comstocks and the Botsfords must become leaders, and their difficulties, instead of crushing them, ~~be~~ **(act as)** agents to bring out their capabilities. Certainly, these difficulties had that effect.

“From close association with them for over fifty years it is no mystery to me that they accomplished what they did. They believed with all their hearts that what they were trying to do was worthwhile, and no labor was too great to accomplish it. They developed with the growth of a great university, and for anyone interested in the history of Cornell the intimate picture of the early days of the university, of its founders, faculty and students gives precious information that only those on the ground could supply.

“In their human relations, the Comstocks followed the Golden Rule. When their 'dream children' did not come to them in flesh and blood they opened their hearts wide to the children of all races, and their home became the haven to which many went both in happiness and in distress, and none left without a lighter heart and firmer faith in life.

“This autobiography was written by Mrs. Comstock while carrying on the strenuous duties of ~~life~~, **(of her career)** and before there was time and strength to revise it carefully, illness came and the long sleep. Their friend and colleague, ~~Professor~~ **(I would prefer this deleted)** Glenn W. Herrick, tried to do for them what they had to leave undone. We who knew them best feel grateful to him for his sympathetic editing, and the Comstock Publishing Company, which they did so much to make successful, is publishing the book for their friends and old pupils with the hope that many may read it and find their aspirations for a noble life justified and strengthened.

“³⁹⁷ [unsigned]

Section III. The following is the Woodford Patterson letter of July 19, 1938 to the Board of Directors to the Comstock Publishing Company of his opinion of the Comstock-manuscript's suitability for publication.³⁹⁸ The notation in blue-font is my own from my research. -KSt.

COMSTOCK PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

Office of the General Manager

Ithaca, N. Y., JULY 19, 1938

To the Board of Directors:

It has been necessary for me to read the manuscript of the
COMSTOCK AUTOBIOGRAPHY, which the Board has appropriated money
for publishing. After learning what it amounts to I can think
Of better reasons for leaving it as it is than for printing it.
My own conviction is that publication would be a blunder, doing
Harm to the memory of Mrs. Comstock and putting both the Company
And the University to a serious risk of discredit. I am there-
Fore holding the script until I can ask the Board to reconsider
The whole matter.

Mr. Schaefer brought the manuscript to me for the final
"marking up", the addition to it of the typographical directions
To compositors. Then it was found to demand revision by an
Experienced and responsible copyreader. A former colleague of the Comstocks had edited it, but
nobody had yet gone over it
Thoroughly in order to do the indispensable work of correcting
In the script all the errors and faults which otherwise must
Be corrected in the proofs and laboriously reset by the printer
At the Company's expense. Revision was found to be necessary
In order to amend faulty syntax, condense redundancies, reform
Clumsy circumlocutions, verify or correct doubtful names, and
Rectify a stenographer's bungled punctuation and capitalization
And careless and expensive multiplication of paragraphs. We found that an immense amount of
such work must be done and I undertook to do it.

[End of page 1]

Immediately after Commencement, or as soon as I could get
Time to begin the copyreading (Sic.), I set to work. I began the job
In good faith, hoping to get through the mass of typescript
(twenty chapters, 760 pages) within a few weeks, and not doubting
That the labor would be worth while. Beginning on June 21,
Working at it whenever I could, and keeping a record of the
Time that it took, I gave forty-nine hours to the task up till
July 7. By that time I had put some degree of order into the first eight chapters, 306 pages. But
by that time I had become
Convinced that it would be a waste of any copyreader's time to

Go on and attempt to put the rest of it into printable form.
A few additional hours of inspection of Chapters IX to XX has only hardened that conviction.

The work is not in either content or style a credit to
Mrs. Comstock, who wrote or dictate virtually all of it.
Written late in life and consisting of her memories of the
Events of many years, it becomes a desultory recital of loosely
Related occupations and diversions at home or in her travels.
Accounts of her own and Professor Comstock's professional work
Are interrupted and disjointed by trivial jottings -- incidents of travel for lecturing or for
recreation, social visits paid and received, picnics, dinners, concerts and plays, domestic
Affairs of relatives, even the going and coming of housemaids.
No small part of the breathless recital consists of long narrative
And descriptive accounts of sight-seeing journeys abroad.
However memorable the particulars of her foreign tours may have
Been for Mrs. Comstock they are commonplace and tedious for the
[End of page 2]

Reader, and I can not believe that the author herself, if she
Had ever come to the point of revising them, would have
Thought of them finally as worth printing.

A conscientious reviewer of such a book as this would start with the premise that a biographical
story is worth reading
If it has real matter in it, if it is stamped with the
Impress of a judicious mind, if it throws a fresh light on
Significant events and personalities, and if it is composed in
A style that sustains and rewards the reader's interest. The
Style of this book is repulsive. Its diffuseness and disorder and aimless shifting of the focus of
attention all combine to
Make it tiresome reading. The author's views of persons and
Affairs are casual and are distorted by her habitual use of
Such stock adjectives as "charming", "amusing", "superb", and "remarkable", as often as not in
the superlative degree.
Although the story spans some fifty years of the first four
Presidential administrations of Cornell University it is all
But worthless for any light that it reflects on the issues of
The half-century because it sees only such of them as affected
The life of a single household or the work of a single labor-
Story.

What might have been made to dominate the story and give
It unity and dignity is the record of the memorable work that was done in the laboratory and the
studio --Professor Comstock's
Progress in mastering and organizing the study of
Insects and of their relation to plant life, and Mrs. Comstock's

Collaboration as artist and engraver. But that record
[End of page 3]

Is broken and scattered and buried among trifles throughout
Many chapters and amounts to scarcely more than fragments
After all. The opening chapters, which relate to the early
Years of John Henry Comstock and Anna Botsford, are coherent
In themselves and might be of some interest to an occasional
Reader for their incidental illustration of some features of
The American life of the period. But any thread of continuity
Is soon lost and the story becomes a trickle of miscellaneous
Reminiscences which goes on without any order except that of
Chronological succession until the end.

The script could properly be added to the University
Library's collection of Cornelliana and catalogued for what
It is. There it might sometime become useful as material
For a judicious historian or biographer. But in my judgment
It is not such a book as a publisher, having due regard for
His own self-respect and the author's reputation, would print
And offer for sale and expose to the cold scrutiny of critics.
I am afraid that some reviewers would say that the author's
Friends ought to have suppressed a book which shows o many
Signs of having been written in her dotage.
Respectfully submitted,
Woodford Patterson [signed]

Woodford Patterson,
General Manager.
[End of page 4 and the document]

Section IV. The following chapter was rekeyed from the original Comstock-manuscript. Words in *ITALICIZED*-font were **omitted** from the *Comstocks of Cornell* book published in 1953. The notes at the end of the section are my own made during my research. -KSt.

Chapter IV: Anna Botsford -- Childhood and Girlhood³⁹⁹

My earliest memories are of the log house in which I was born*[KSC1] . It was at the edge of an orchard, some distance from the street, and the path to the door was set on either side with rose bushes and peonies. The entrance was through a porch which had at one side a pantry and milk room.

The first floor of the house consisted of one spacious room which was really palatial as compared with apartments in our cities of today. At one end of the room was a kitchen stove, a dish-cupboard painted blue, and a cherry fall-leaf table which was spread for meals; this end of the room was kitchen and dining-room. The middle was the sitting room, with an inviting lounge at one side, a cherry bureau and stand on the other, rockers and other chairs, cushioned for comfort, in between, a rag carpet covered the floor. The other end of the room was for beds. In either corner was a four-poster feather bed, hung with white curtains above and white valances below. The curtains were looped back, showing snowy coverlets and pillows. *The floor was carpeted, and the space between the beds could be added to the sitting-room when needed.* When the company came to stay all night, they retired behind their bed's curtains to undress and dress, and we did likewise. However, I slept in a trundle-bed, which, during the day, {end of page 4-1} was rolled under the bed in which my parents slept.

At the far end of the room, between the beds, was a wide casement window, beyond which a great cinnamon rose-bush flourished and bloomed. White fringed curtains at the window so enhanced the view of the pink roses that the picture always remained in my memory.

Below the window, *standing side by side*, were two green chests, their fronts white and ornate with initials and flowers in gay colors. One of these belonged to my father and the other to my mother. Each had at one end a till and a drawer below it for letters and papers, and they were receptacles of mystery to me, who seldom was allowed to look while the contents were examined. White linen, fringed covers were spread over the chests and on them were our small store of books and various boxes for hats or other apparel, each covered with white fringed doilies.

The walls and ceilings of the room were plastered and papered in light colors. On the wall hung some old color prints framed --"Robert Burns and His Highland Mary", "Washington on a White Horse".

In 1854*[KSC2] , the southwestern counties of New York State were in the post-pioneer stage of development. My grandfather, Daniel Botsford, had moved his family with ox-teams from Bristol, Connecticut, to Otto, Cattaraugus Co., New York, in 1823. He was a direct descendant of Henry Botsford, who settled in Milford {end of page 4-2}, Connecticut, in 1639. His wife,

Polly Foote Botsford, was a direct descendant of Nathaniel Foote, who settled in Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1640.

My maternal grandfather, Job Irish, and his wife, Anna Southard Irish, had moved with their family, *also* by ox teams, from Danby, Vermont, to Collins, Erie County*[KSC3], at an earlier period, probably about 1815. They were Quakers, my grandfather a *direct* descendant of Joseph Irish, who came to America soon after William Penn had settled in Dutchess County, New York, but later with his eight sons migrated to Ruthford-Rutland, Vermont. His sons were persecuted by both the Colonials and British during the War of the Revolution because they refused to fight. One of my grandfather's uncles was shot down in his own doorway by a rascal in ambush. His home was in a clearing in the forest; his wife buried her husband with her own hands and with her four small children went through the wilderness to Rutland.

Both my grandmothers died before I was born, but I remember my grandfathers *very well*. Grandfather Irish was a quiet, dignified man whom I loved dearly. He wore a broad-brimmed, pale-gray beaver hat and walked with a cane, for he was partially blind. In meeting and at funerals he wore his hat during the services, according to Quaker habit.

Grandfather Botsford was active, rather nervous and somewhat deaf. He had been a soldier in the War of 1812 and {end of page 4-3} had the traditional Yankee hatred of all things British. He was an ardent Methodist, a Whig, and later a violent Republican. He *was a constant* reader of newspapers and enjoyed political argument. The *madder he and* his opponent became, the keener his enjoyment. *He was* industrious and honest and brought up his family in the fear of God and the rod. He had taught school and was an excellent penman.

My father, who was five years old when the family moved from Connecticut, remembered that he was afraid to go after the cows *in the beaver-meadows* because, by the time the cows were in this yard, the wolves in the woods behind them were howling. He was very much afraid, but his father made him get the cows just the same. When he was fourteen years old and was allowed to carry a gun, he lost all fear.

Grandfather and grandmother*[KSC4] put *great* religious pressure on their children, each, when reaching the age of fourteen, was given a Bible which must be read from cover to cover, and then was expected to "profess religion" and join the Methodist church. This worked well with the four elder children, but my father, was not made of malleable stuff. He read the Bible through (I now have the copy, bound in tooled leather) and declared it was interesting history and nothing more. They labored with him and prayed with him, and at him. They scolded and they *persecuted* him, all to no avail. *Worst of all*, his younger {end of page 4-4} sister Urania and brother Wiley joined him in this rebellion. Probably as an aftermath of this experience, my father and Uncle Wiley became Democrats. Political discussion at our family gatherings was often so hot that my Quaker mother left the room *in disgust and dismay*.

My father bought his time of his father after he was sixteen and worked for neighbors, clearing land and farming during the day and taking the daughters of his employers to dances and to singing or spelling schools nights. There was no caste in pioneer society. The hired help were

sons and daughters of neighbors who were land-owners and of equal rank, but who had children to spare.

There had been winter schooling in a log schoolhouse, where my father learned to read and write well, and mastered enough arithmetic for business and enough geography to make him intelligent in world affairs.

People have told me that both my father and Uncle Wiley were handsome youths, *well formed*, with very black hair and heavy eyebrows, *very* blue eyes and red cheeks. My *earliest* memories of my father *were* of a powerful personality, in whom I took much pride, and of whom I stood in awe and fear, and yet *whom* I loved. I remember as of yesterday his appearance when he started off for "general training", for he was enlisted in the State Militia. He wore a dark blue suit, a wide red sash around his waist, leggings {end of page 4-5} topped with red points, a red and white cockade on his hat; he sat very straight on his horse, and, to me, he was all that was gorgeous and grand. He *was a reader of* newspapers and a thinker concerning political questions; he knew the record of every important Senator and Congressman and State Legislator. He hated slavery, *but he also had a Northerner's prejudice against negroes* {Sic.} *and did not like contact with them.* He thought the Government should have bought the slaves and freed them. He regarded the Civil War as a conflict brought on by extremists North and South, and which might have been avoided had the leaders been moderate and reasonable; it was a horror to him *all his life*. He was *absolutely* honest *and upright* in business affairs and was kind-hearted and generous to the unfortunate. He liked to work and was skilled in *each of* the varied industries of the farm. He was witty and had a keen sense of humor; he was also sarcastic and pessimistic.

My mother was my father's complete complement. She, too, was a pioneer's child. One of her earliest memories was of losing her pet lamb when the wolves *broke into the sheepfold* and killed twenty-six sheep in one night. Her mother, *whose loss she mourned all her life*, was thrown from a horse when on an errand of mercy to a sick neighbor, and died *as a result*, leaving a family of five: my mother, the next to the youngest, was nine years old. People who knew my grandmother, for whom {end of page 4-6} I was named, spoke of her as a large, handsome woman possessed of a kind heart and a spirit of helpfulness. After two years my grandfather married again, *a Canadian widow, who was a harsh mother and stepmother.* She treated her own daughter as cruelly as she did my mother and her sisters, with the result that they slipped away as early as possible and worked for the neighbors, *to get away from the discomfort.*

Mother loved her school in the old log schoolhouse. She loved beauty and poetry. Her *old* English Reader, rich in the essays and resounding poetry of the centuries was a joy to her all her life. She read the prose and learned the poetry. Through her Quaker ancestry, she had lost all sense of music and could not sing; so she used to put me to sleep by reciting poetry; *then and there* she implanted in me a love of rhythm and rhyme. *She had one teacher, Lemon Pitcher**, whom she adored. He taught her something of botany and also of astronomy; she must have been a favorite, for he wrote an "acrostic" with her name which she treasured all her life.*

She had a passionate love for beauty in nature. My hours of great happiness were when she could go into the fields and woods with me. She taught me the popular names of sixty or more *common* flowers; *she taught me* a dozen constellations, an asset for enjoyment in after-years. Her delight over the beauty of a fern, or a sunset, or a flower made me appreciate {end of page 4-7} them too. This love of nature lasted throughout her life. *I remember how*, one evening after she was eighty, she stood at the window watching the sunset, and turning to me, her face glowing, said, "Anna, heaven may be a happier place than the earth, but it cannot be more beautiful."

Mother had a *sweet*, sunny disposition *and was optimistic*; she believed that everyone meant to do right. She refused to listen to critical gossip; and the acme of her condemnation when someone had smashed the Decalogue*^[KSC5] was, "I fear he doesn't live consistently." She was born into the Hicksite Society of Friends and always clung to her Quaker principles. She and my father were always in accord, since the Hicksites were quite unorthodox. *However*, mother was not troubled by creeds. In later years, her meeting changed to orthodox and she attended it with the same serenity of spirit as when in her own society. She enjoyed work and was quick and executive in all her undertakings. She was an excellent and resourceful cook and a neat, orderly housekeeper. *Moreover*, she had the faculty for making a room look inviting and "homey". *Her "parlor", with its white curtains, comfortable lounge, cushioned rockers, and cheerful pictures was a room which invited the guest to cosy [Sic.] comfort.* She was an expert cheese maker, her products always bringing top prices. She could spin flax and weave linen. *I still have a piece of her linen of beautiful, intricate pattern.* {end of page 4-8} She was an expert spinner of wool and could knit stockings in the dark. She could also weave woolen cloth. She was an exquisite needlewoman; her hemming was a work of art, so delicate and so even were the stitches. She was strong of body, blithe of spirit, courageous, capable, fearless, peace-loving, and self-sacrificing. *In appearance*, she was not tall and was rather stout in her early years. She had wavy black hair, violet eyes *that were very* expressive. She was quick in movement and observing. She enjoyed fun, but had small sense of humor. She was an excellent nurse and deemed it no hardship, after working all day, to sit up at night with a sick neighbor; *in fact*, she always helped in care for the sick within a radius of three or four miles of her home. Invalids used to say that her presence brought cheer, comfort and healing.

My father and mother had both been married before they married each other and were childless *by these earlier unions*. My father had married a schoolmate, Hannah Bartlett, *and had bought land, cut the forest off part of it, and built a log house and barn.* Here he had lived six years when his young wife died of tuberculosis. My mother, when sixteen, had married Harlan King, *a man ten years older than she.* *He was* an invalid for years and the two lived at the home of his father. Mother loved the King family and was beloved in return. Harlan King lived twelve years after their marriage, *and after his death mother stayed* {end of page 4-9} with his people until she married my father. These earlier marriages complicated my relationships and greatly enriched my life. The Kings and the Bartletts were interesting people *and both were interested in this second marriage.* Both families visited us often and made much of me; I supposed they were my own relatives and always called them so. Much has been said against second marriages, but I, being a product of one, have my own ideas. These former conjugal partners were spoken of *frequently in my presence* with affection and reverence. *I placed flowers upon the graves of each whenever I visited the cemeteries*, and always felt that these two

belonged to me. My father was devoted to mother's mother-in-law, Grandmother King, and invited her to live with us. She was a reader and thinker and he found her stimulating as well as charming. He *also loved two of her children, Alvin and Marietta*, as much as he loved his own brothers and sisters. *On the other side*, Grandmother Bartlett, a formal, dignified old lady, whom I visited occasionally, was so fond of me that she willed me her gold beads and pink china, although she had *plenty of her own granddaughters who longed for these treasures*. Moreover, the Bartletts, brothers and sisters, were highly esteemed by mother, and one of the sisters, Aunt Sylvia Moore, a widow and homeless, lived with us for seventeen years. Little wonder I grew up with a conviction that second marriages need in no way detract from the love and loyalty {end of page 4-10} belonging to the first.

Owing to the generous attitude of my mother and father, our home was an asylum for the unfortunate. I can remember hardly a period when we did not have someone with us who was in need of physical support or spiritual and moral comfort. Sometimes it was a child needing care, but most often older folk, like my mother's stepmother, who chose to live with mother rather than with her own daughter, although she had been so harsh that my mother had left home when she was twelve. To my parents, a home was a sacred trust to be used for the benefit of humanity, although they would have been the last to state the matter in such a way. They simply did what to them seemed right toward those who were less fortunate than themselves. *However*, their example in this respect, made a deep impression upon me*[KSC6], *and, as far as I have been able*, I have always looked upon my own home as a blessing to be shared and not to be regarded selfishly; *and in this attitude my husband always gave me willing support*.

We left the log cabin, when I was about three years old, for a story-and-a-half frame house, a short distance away, set in the edge of a primeval forest. This was more commodious, *as there was a parlor, a dining-room, a kitchen, and two bedrooms on the first floor, and bedrooms in the low-ceiled chambers*. There was a front piazza with seats at each end. *Soon afterwards a cheese-house was erected, a few yards away*. This consisted of a room {end of page 4-11} for the vat and presses *and another room perhaps thirty feet long and half as wide*. The floor of this large room was painted yellow, and the walls were plastered white; there were white shades at the windows, and on rows of benches were cheeses, each weighing thirty to forty pounds, trim and shining yellow, each on its board; it was a room of beauty and neatness and order. Between the cheese-house and the farmhouse was the pump.

The barns were on the opposite side of the road, and were designated "the cow barn" and "the horse barn"; each of them gave ample room for storing hay and grain, and each was a fascinating place in which to play.

Until after the Civil War, we were largely a self-providing family. We raised wheat and corn, which were ground in the village mill to serve as our own bread-stuff. We raised our own vegetables and potatoes and apples, burying them in earth-covered pits to keep them fresh *for winter use* after those in the cellar had been eaten. We had sheep and spun our own yarn, but hired it woven into cloth *for winter wear*. We made enough maple sugar to last *us the year round*. We killed our own meat -- cattle, pigs, and sheep; cured *our own* hams, salted *our* pork and corned or dried our beef. We also had plenty of hens and eggs. We bought tea, coffee, spices, white sugar, salt; cotton cloth, and calico and delaines *for dresses*; thread, needles,

pins, boots and shoes, and on rare occasions silk for a dress for Mother. {End of page 4-12} For every-day wear for Father, wool from our sheep was made into "full cloth" at the village woolen mill and a tailoress [Sic.] came with her goose*[KSC7] and made him the suit. Mother spun the yarn and colored it for our blankets and coverlets. Now and then she wove rag carpets *for our floors*. The chief source of our income was the cheese, although *often* my father also "broke steers." He was an adept at training oxen *to perfect obedience* and *he always* received high prices for them. We always had oxen on the farm to supplement the horses.

The farm was a busy place from early spring until November. Father was a progressive farmer and was among the first to buy a mower and other machinery. He knew the right ways of doing things and his farm was always good to look at. *All* the stock was well fed and showed excellent care, the fences were kept up, the barns were swept every day in summer after the cows were in pasture, and in winter the cattle were well bedded. He was implacable toward Canada-thistles and white daisies. Many a time I was sent up into the meadow to pull up a daisy plant, which I had to bring back and destroy.

Though on a farm, we were by no means isolated. *As I look back now I realize anew that* we had neighbors of a high type, *both* intellectually and morally. *They were* people of intelligence and had eager minds. They read all the books {end of page 4-13} *available, either bought or borrowed*. They all read newspapers and were conversant with all public interests and questions. Our nearest neighbors took Harper's Magazine from the first number *issued*. Our community was up-to-date on all the issues afloat and they all -- Phrenology, Spiritualism, Water-Cure, Transcendentalism, and especially Abolitionism -- impinged upon us and we in turn impinged upon them. The women found time for visiting about the neighborhood during the summer and autumn, and in the winter there were frequent evening *parties*. *These were often* dances, for the empty cheese-houses proved most satisfactory ballrooms. On such occasions the main refreshments were paid for by all and usually consisted of canned oysters, made into soup, and crackers, pies, cake, cheese, and pickles were contributed largely by the hostess. These gatherings were gay and helped much to keep up the neighborly morale. *I think* there was always someone in our circle who played the violin and who cheerfully donated his services *to the dancers on these occasions*. My father was a skillful and graceful dancer. In those old square dances *I am sure* he had a dozen different fancy steps for "coming down the middle"; I remember I was very proud of him.

Our school was an important factor in our home. The rural schoolhouse was set on a high hill; it was a frame building which had taken the place of a log house built by pioneers, who {end of page 4-14} believed education the corner-stone of our national structure. The schoolhouse was about a half mile from our home and was on one corner of our farm. We had three months of school in the winter, usually taught by a man, as the "big boys" from the farm were free to attend school at that season. We had three months of school in the summer, invariably taught by a woman as only the younger children attended this session. *The rule of our district was that* the teacher should "board around", staying a week at a time with each family. However, our house was so near that my mother and father always welcomed the teachers to stay with us whenever they chose. This resulted, in many instances, in making the teacher a member of the family and added *greatly* to the interest of our evenings, *especially in the winter*. *I remember that* one ambitious young man read *aloud* to my parents Timothy Titcomb's Letters and a volume on

popular astronomy. *As I remember them*, our teachers were superior and interesting young men and women, and I adored them almost without exception.

Of great interest to me, *too*, were the peddlers that sold goods in the rural districts. As we were half-way between villages ten miles apart, and they usually arrived about supper time, they were always welcomed and entertained free of charge; *and they were, on the whole, a decent lot*. Among my favorites was "The Old Scotchman," *as we called him*, who sold table linen {end of page 4-15} *and towels*. He dressed in Scotch style *with bare knees* and wore a tam-o'-shanter. *His charm for me was his love of children, one evidence of which was* a ticking-bag full of delicious, small candies, from which he extracted a handful for me. When I saw him coming *from afar* I would run to meet him. Another favorite was a tin peddler who came with a horse and covered wagon. He was handsome and interesting, full of fun, and could have made a success on the vaudeville stage *if he had lived today He had a beautiful voice and sang for us many popular songs*. He was a natural vagabond, and his business fitted his character. I doubt if he ever paid for *a night's* lodging or a meal. He was welcome everywhere.

I did not lack for friends of my own age. Our nearest neighbor had a son, Herbert Northrup, a few months older than I, and from babyhood we were the closest of friends. He was quiet, blue-eyed, and tow-headed, and I was talkative and gray-eyed and with hair as black as an Indian's. We seldom quarrelled [Sic.] and our hours spent together were of the happiest. *We were always teasing our mothers to allow us to visit each other*. We both learned to read when very young, because each of us was an only child, and had many hours of loneliness; learning to read was the one way of amusing ourselves, so we each harassed our mothers to tell us the names of the letters. I learned many of mine from the inscriptions on our kitchen stove. {End of page 4-16} *One of our neighbors, Mrs. Beverly, a stout, pink-cheeked elderly lady whom we both loved, who always wore lace folded inside her surplice waist fastened with a great cameo pin, and who wore a lace cap on her white hair, presented us with First Readers. I do not know how old we were then, but I had my daguerreotype taken on the day that I was four years old, with my Second Reader, bought that very day, in my hand; undoubtedly Herbert had the same book, for we always insisted on being together in our readers and other studies as well. If one of us borrowed a book, each always asked the privilege of lending it to the other*. His father was a victim of tuberculosis and there were times when Herbert spent weeks with us, when Mr. Northrup was very ill; we rejoiced *at the privilege* and did not realize the tragic reason for it.

No book gave Herbert or myself complete satisfaction until it was shared with the other. We would sit together by the hour and each reading busily. Our parents remonstrated with us, telling us to play or visit; we listened to them tolerantly, knowing that they could never understand how we were happiest together when reading. This way of entertaining each other lasted until we were grown. *One winter, a sympathetic teacher let us sit together in school, a blissful arrangement after we were sure the other pupils would not laugh at us -- for in our school the boys sat on one side of the room and the girls on the other. Unwise remarks about what seemed to be our inevitable mutual {end of page 4-17} relation fell off, leaving us untouched*. No girl could have been more fortunate than I in intimate boy companionship. Herbert was a thoughtful, keenly intelligent, refined, *pure-minded* lad who liked me as much as if I had been a boy and I liked him as much as if he had been a girl.

I was to continue fortunate in the respect; for, *later*, after Herbert's family had moved away, my cousin Marian Herrick, her husband and her four boys came to be our near neighbors. Of these boys two were near my own age and two younger. They were bright, happy, sweet, modest boys and *not in all the years of my association with them* did I hear an improper word from *one* of them or witness an act that could have been criticized by our parents. Blessed is the girl who learns early in life that men are good.

I had one dear girl friend, Alice. Her mother, who had her to support, worked for us several years and my parents invited her to bring the child with her as a companion for me. Alice was a dear little girl whom I loved devotedly and with whom I never quarrelled [Sic.]. We liked the same plays and were naturally congenial. We were treated impartially by my parents and relatives. My kind uncle, Lucius Botsford, who always brought me candy or other gifts when he visited us, gave the same to Alice; in one case I remember it was cloth for dresses and we were enchanted to have them just alike.

I had many pleasures in life, and these were the more {end of page 4-18} appreciated because they did not occur too often. My greatest happiness was when I was allowed to visit the home of my Uncle Harvey and Aunt Sarah Little, about a mile from our own home. My Aunt Sarah had taken me and cared for me when I was a year and a half old, while my mother was ill with fever; I loved her passionately and always called her "Ma Sarah." She was an extremely attractive and intelligent woman; she had been a teacher and was cultured and stimulating. Uncle Harvey was a big, handsome man, who had a fascinating way with children. My two cousins, Kate and Lidie, were popular young women socially; both were beautiful physically-- Kate petite, pale, blue-eyed, black-haired; Lidie large, blue-eyed and blonde. I fairly worshipped them both. They permitted me to look at their ribbons, laces, and jewelry to my heart's content. Their beaux made much of me, evidently to win approval from the girls. Both had excellent taste in dress and were in my sight a whole art gallery of beauty and uplift.

The Little house was a long story-and-a-half structure that had been added to at various times. *At the kitchen-end*, upstairs, was one room which was a repository of all the papers and magazines, treasured for years. Curled up in the low window I reveled in this literature by the hour. *Above the parlor-end of the house were my cousins' bedrooms, in one of which was their Aunt Jane's dulcimer, a stringed instrument to be tapped with padded hammers, held in either hand.* It tinkled under my efforts, and I was enraptured {end of page 4-19} with my own music. The sitting room had a fireplace and I still remember my *intense* enjoyment when I was allowed to stay all night and sit with *Rover*, the dog, before the roaring fire, my feet proudly encased in my Aunt's much too large slippers, while my Aunt and Uncle read by the table and Grandma Little knitted in her chair by the hearth corner.

One summer during the Civil War my cousin Lidie Little taught our school. She brought beauty and happiness to us all. She covered the marred walls of the school room with boughs from the nearby woods. The *red*, rusty box-stove she covered with flowers and ferns. She was an artist and had painted many pictures; on the last day of school she gave each of us a card, with her name and a flower upon it, which we treasured for years. *The naughtiest boy in school wept*

copiously, as did all of us, when we bade her good-bye, for it was tragedy to us that she would teach us never again.

The Civil War made a deep impression on me. I had many cousins who enlisted and who came to visit us during their furloughs, dressed in blue with buttons that were gold to my eyes. I had mastered the Fifth Reader when I was eight years old and was able to read the newspaper accounts of battles and the lists of wounded and dead. I scraped linen with a knife to make lint with which to dress wounds, and helped knit stockings and wristlets for the soldiers. I remember the pall that fell over us when Lincoln*^[KSC8] {end of page 4-20} was killed.

Company was always a pleasure to me, no matter who came, and we had visitors often; going visiting with my parents was also an interesting and often a happy experience, especially when hostesses were thoughtful enough to offer me cookies, to keep me from what seemed imminent starvation before the rather late dinner was served.

I was early taught to work. I learned to sew before I was four years old and to knit when I was six. I had to knit my own woolen stockings after I was seven. My stint was to knit ten times around the stocking each day and it seemed an interminable task. I pieced a bed-quilt before I was ten and have it now, each block a memento of a garment of my own or of some friend.

Mother had good taste and I always had one "best dress" *that was pretty and becoming*. Mother was also abreast of the times and adopted the bloomer costume for everyday wear for herself and for me. The full skirt stopped at the knee, but the legs below were encased in wide trousers of the same material that reached almost to the top of the shoe. For summer I wore a Shaker bonnet, a straw sunbonnet trimmed with material like my dress, usually pink calico. Other women and children of our community dressed thus for "everyday", but not for "best" nor for public appearance. I remember meeting a smart equipage filled with city people (*or so I guessed*) when I was coming home from school one day. A lady {end of page 4-21} looked at me *through her lorgnette* and exclaimed, "What an extraordinary costume!" and I thought, "What an extraordinary lady!"

Going to school in winter was strenuous *work*. *There was snow always and* the fenced roads were drifted full, *so that traffic was through the fields*. Often the neighbors and my father would *break* open the roads with ox teams before we could get to school or get home. One blizzard [Sic.] day our heroic schoolmaster froze both hands holding his shawl in front of us younger children while he walked backwards until our house was reached. I always wore copper-toed boots in the winter, and as I remember, the tops were usually filled with snow *by the time I reached school or home and had to be taken off and emptied*.

Many duties fell to my share in our busy farm life. The summer I was nine years old I washed the breakfast dishes and the milk pails and swept the dining room and kitchen before I went to school. At night I washed the supper dishes and the milk pails (how I hated washing the two large carrying-pails!) and went to the garden and dug the potatoes for the next day's meal. I also had the chickens to feed and a canary to care for. The hired girl was sick and away that summer, *I remember*, I remember also that I was struggling, quite successfully, with compound

fractions *in my arithmetic* that term; *but I am sure* I never rebelled, even if the days were hard. {End of page 4-22}

One of *the privileges and joys* was going barefoot from early spring until late autumn. *It was a precious privilege.* I was wont to play I was a princess occasionally, for I was very imaginative. Mother told me that if I were a princess I would have to wear shoes and stocking all summer, and never again did I play that game. "Poor princesses", I called them, and pitied them sincerely.

The great events of the year were agricultural fairs and circuses; the latter not always an annual event. How I gloried in the gorgeous spangles of the lady riders in the circus! Seeing them display was a great stimulus to my imagination and a means of real culture, I am sure. Later, when the family had gone to the village, I would array myself as best I could, and, standing on the pack of our pet brood mare, pastured in the orchard, I would do my best to imitate the circus ladies; but my inconsiderate steed usually scraped me off with the help of the low-branched trees.

The "ladies' pavilion" at the agricultural fairs was to me a glorious place: *pictures painted by the exhibitors*; patchwork quilts; embroidered linen; *wax flowers*; *framed wreaths of flowers made from seeds*, or perhaps a family hair-wreath (locks of hair wired into flower shapes); elaborate beaded broadcloth skirts made for themselves by squaws, who also exhibited beaded cushions and mats. *There was also a flower show that seemed heavenly.* Always in the afternoon there was a game of lacrosse {end of page 4-23} by the young Indians of our Gowanda Reservation of Senecas -- splendid athletes they were, *too*. Then, *of course*, there was the meeting of many friends, which meant much to my parents --and to me too, who loved everybody.

Our fairs and circuses were always in Gowanda, as that was a much larger village than Otto. We were half-way between the two, but the ride to Gowanda was far more interesting, because we had to cross "The Breakers at Forty," which means that we had to go down one side of a gorge about **200** feet deep, cross the South Branch of the Cattaraugus Creek, and climb up the other side of the Gorge, an exciting experiment. *Why gorges were always called "The Breakers" is still a mystery*; they were favorite places for picnics and excursions and afforded impressive and picturesque scenery.

I usually attended Sunday school in the old North Otto Methodist Episcopal church. I had a sweet teacher, a sister of my father's first wife, whom I called Aunt, and undoubtedly she was the lodestone that drew me there. Also I loved to commit verses of the Bible to memory. However I was a heterodox youngster; for, when my teacher explained how Christ suffered for my sins, I wept and said I would not have it so, and that my mother always spanked me for my sins and this settled the score. From that time to this, the doctrine of sin washed away by Christ's blood has seemed to me unfair and unjust and also quite {end of page 4-24} impossible. Yet no word in my home had been said about this; my revolt was entirely my own. I asked my mother about it, and she, in her dear Quaker way, told me that Christ was our Elder Brother, who came to teach us to do right; and that, if we had done wrong and truly repented, we could start again on the right path.

Always in Sunday school I was asking puzzling questions, which were answered by some quotation

*From the Bible, instead of reasonably; and I finally came to regard the Bible as a refuge for ignorance and a stifler [Sic.] of reason, a prejudice that remained a secret in my mind until after I too reached the age of reason and came to realize its majesty and beauty.****

Every spring and fall we were visited by Seneca Indians, since we were on the road that led from Gowanda to the Salamanca **reservation**[KSC9] . *As I remember them*, the men were tall, gaunt with deeply lined faces; the hooked nose and the high cheek-bones and piercing eyes made them impressive; they were taciturn and dignified. The squaws *were* usually fat and always wore broadcloth skirts embroidered with beads. They always had baskets and bead work, and bartering these wares for food. All our baskets, from the bushel size for grain and potatoes to the dainty pink and green or blue dinner basket for me, we acquired thus. Father and mother were always kind to the Indians; I remember that when a terrible sleet storm overtook a company of them one night, they were brought into our kitchen and camped there {end of page 4-25} for the night. I remember *well also* the thorough cleaning mother gave the room after they left. In the spring, when the cows freshened, the calves were killed when three days old. The Indians regarded this veal as a great treat and, *of course*, it was given them free of cost. The story of the Indians on our reservations is a sad one. They owned the best land, but did little in *the way of* cultivating it. Whisky, sold by unprincipled saloon-keepers in the villages, wrought havoc, especially with the men, *who now, like the squaws, are fat*.

When I was ten we moved to the house opposite the school, and, for the first time, I had a room of my own. This seemed a luxury, although it was very plain, its white-curtained windows giving a view of the orchard.

This year, for the first time, I was *a naughty girl* in school. Our teacher was a sentimental person who had made an unsuccessful marriage, and *she was* quite unfitted for teaching. Her discipline was capricious, *to say the least*. Once she decided to whip me, and seized a long apple-tree switch which *was her weapon of battle*. I ran out of the schoolhouse into a cornfield. She came after me; I kept near enough to her to know where she was and far enough away so she did not know where I was. After a half-hour, while all the pupils were holding revel in the school-house, she gave up. I went home quietly, returned in the afternoon, took my seat as if nothing unusual had happened, and {end of page 4-26} *she too acted as if nothing had happened**[KSC10] .

I graduated in English Grammar *under her tutelage*. We had Brown's old Grammar and I demanded reasons for rules and explanations, so that I could understand. She was no expert *in this line*, and being annoyed, finally said: "Anna does not seem to get along well as the rest of the class; hereafter I will hear her recite by herself." *Later in the day* I craftily asked her "will you hear me recite all I can learn?" She said, "Of course." I had a remarkable ability to commit words to memory, whether they meant anything to me or not. I studied grammar exclusively until the next afternoon, and asked her to hear my lesson first after recess. I repeated the grammar rules, through the remainder of the book. She tried once or twice to stop me, but I said, "You promised to hear all I could learn." I finished grammar and cordially hated the study until I came to an appreciation of it after I studied Latin.

It had been a tradition in our school that one afternoon each summer we should move from the schoolhouse to the woods and recite our lessons there, always *a perfectly* orderly performance. *This summer*, during *afternoon* recess I climbed a tree, *which was* one of my favorite diversions. I was coming down peacefully when the teacher exclaimed sharply: "Anna, come down out of that tree immediately, recess is over." At which I stayed my downward course and announced that I would recite my lessons from there, and I did. A few years later when I was a teacher in that same {end of page 4-26} school, and we were having school in the woods, one of the older girls said, "What would you do if one of us climbed a tree as you did when Susan Lee taught?", at which an older boy said, "We'd better not try it; Anna would climb right up after us."

It was surely a period of badness for me. I remember that a schoolmate, a sweet, refined girl, and I began swearing when we were alone together. We used every oath we had ever heard and swore at everything *and anything*. One day we saw an apple-tree tent-caterpillar on the fence and we called it every wicked name in our vocabulary, at which it lifted up the front part of its body and swung back and forth; we were awestruck and concluded we had best stop swearing, which we did. The disturbed insect had made this motion to frighten away parasites, but when a mere worm turned on us we thought it was time to reform. What our mothers would have thought of our performance, if they had known, was one element in our enjoyment of our wickedness.

The next year my father sent me to Cattaraugus village, to school, where I could see Herbert Northrup every day, for he and his mother lived there; and where I could visit my uncle, Lucius Botsford, and Aunt Mary; *often*, *Aunt Mary* always gave me something very good to eat.

The summer that I was thirteen father bought land near the village of Otto and built upon it a barn. The next summer {end of page 4-28} we moved into the barn while the house was being built, as we were obliged to give room and board to the carpenters. The barn had never been used, *as such*, and made a very commodious residence. The stalls were made into bedrooms and the carpenters slept in the hay loft; never before had any of us had so much fresh air for sleeping, and all agreed that never before had they slept so well.

It was a rapturous summer for me, for there were as many new experiences, and new friends. *Never was there a more thrilling experience than watching* our new house grow. It was a Gothic cottage with six gables and a dormer window. *The builder was a man of ideas* and the house was painted cream yellow, the trimmings white and the blinds pale pink. Although I have since then roamed 'mid pleasures and palaces', I still think it was a beautiful house; the scroll work in the sharp gables and the spires fitted the style of architecture. The house was set on a side hill above the road, with the orchard at one side and behind it, and it made a pretty picture. The view from the piazza was eastward across a wide valley, with a stream winding in and out the "kneeling hills." It was from this piazza that I learned the exquisite coloring of the eastern skies at sunset.

The house was pleasant inside, with its large white *painted* kitchen and pantry, the dining room opening on the piazza was only used as such when the company was too large for the {end of page 4-29} kitchen fall-leaf table. The parlor, with its dignified walnut and green rep furniture

and marble-top tables, seemed *quite* grand, as did the parlor bedroom, with its *big walnut bed and* furniture; the walls of both were papered with gray and green paper that looked like velvet. However, the special charm of the house for me was my study, a chamber with a dormer window overlooking the orchard. *This was not a bedroom, it had* a red carpet and lace window-curtains which seemed to me the very acme of elegance. A comfortable couch where I could lie *down* and read, a walnut bookcase and writing-stand, and chairs and rocker to match, were its furnishings. Never have I had such blissful hours as those I spent in that, my very own room.

There was a "select school" in Otto, *conducted by Miss Maria Calver and her younger sisters, Jennie and Mary.* I attended this school for the first year after we moved into our new home. *The Calvers* were superior women, and were cultured and interesting; the two younger were my life-long friends, as they married and lived near us. It was in this school that I saw pupils taking lessons in oil painting; I longed to be one of them, but I was consoled by taking a few drawing lessons. I met here Etta Holbrook *and Mary Hunt and formed lasting friendships with them.*

Etta Holbrook was the niece of Mrs. Constant Allen {end of page 4-30} and was living with her *that year.* Mr. Allen was one of our wealthy men in Otto. *He was* handsome and dignified and a lover of good literature. *Mrs. Allen was a woman of great force of character. She was dark and her black eyes were keen and expressive.* She had been a teacher in *her own state* of Vermont, and had *chose to* come to Otto to teach, *where she met Mr. Allen, then a widower, and married him.* Their home was a rambling story-and-a-half structure *set* in beautiful grounds at the edge of the village. It was to me a symbol of all luxury, elegance, and culture. The mahogany furniture of the parlor and library, the book-cases filled with books, the handsome silver table-service, the spacious sitting room with comfortable chairs and piano, impressed me profoundly. The many oil paintings and engravings on the walls filled me with awed delight. *Moreover,* the master and the mistress of this home were cultured people. They read aloud to each other and often I was permitted to listen when I was their guest. Poetry, essays, political speeches, magazine articles, were read so well that it was a privilege to listen.

Mr. Allen's children by his first marriage were married and away, and there were no children of the second marriage. Mrs. Allen supplied this want by inviting her nieces and nephews from Vermont to stay with them. Also Mr. Allen's nieces were often there, so there were always young people in the house, which was an added attraction. Among these was Etta Holbrook, {end of page 4-31} who has been a beloved and helpful friend to me these many years. There was a boy, her brother Martin, who was a thinker and a lad of rare promise when I knew him best. I remember that when he was about fourteen years old he asked me once what I thought about death and life hereafter; of course I told him I didn't know, at which he said: "I think God owes us something, even if it is nothing but an explanation."

As my home was a mile away from the village, I was welcomed at the Allen house during stormy nights, *for all the years of my school-going.* Father liked to have me there, for he knew Mrs. Allen would not permit me to go on the streets in the evening. *Also, one of the most inspiring teachers of my girlhood, Jennie Marsh, lived with the Allens, for it was a hospitable house, and her companionship was stimulating.* As I look back on my early life I can see that Mrs. Ann French Allen was the one *above all others* who aroused my ambition for a higher

education, and implanted in me a desire to make my work in the world count to the utmost of my ability.

I remember that one morning when I called upon Mrs. Allen she had a newspaper in her hand and said: "Anna, here is your chance for a University education. Ann Arbor has opened its doors to women. Your Aunt Charlotte Willits lives near Ann Arbor and you can live with her." This seed, once planted, sprouted and grew. Later I prepared to enter Ann Arbor*[KSC11], when {end of page 4-32} Cornell gave me a chance nearer home for a University course.

There were two churches in Otto, *Congregationalist and Methodist*, and the membership of the two included the best citizens *in town*. *Nevertheless* there was often hot rivalry between them, and this, I remember, was echoed by the children. "You are a damned Methodist," or "You are a damned Congregationalist," I heard on the school grounds, *and these epithets often resulted in a general battle*. My father was afraid that I would be influenced to join a church before I had reached the age of reason; so he insisted that if I attended the Sunday School of one church I must also attend the Sunday School of the other, and alternate my attendance at church services also. This had the desired effect, and kept the two balanced as far as my interest *was concerned*. *I remember that* when a *most* lovable man came as pastor to the *Congregationalist Church* he called on father and asked why he was not a church member. "I live in peace with all my neighbors." answered Father, with a smile, then they both laughed and were good friends *ever after*.

When I was fourteen, the teacher in the primary room of our village school was ill, and had to leave six weeks before the term ended. I was asked to take her place. I secured a third-class certificate without examination and entered a noble profession joyfully. It was hard work, but it was highly entertaining. I received three dollars a week and "boarded {end of page 4-33} myself". At the end I had \$18 and told my father I wanted to spend it for books. He proposed that we have a great day and go to Fredonia, N. Y., *where was the nearest book-shop, and make the purchase*. I have most of the books still; and this is the list, showing Mrs. Allen's influence: the complete works, in one volume each, sheep-bound, of Shakespeare, Moore, Burns, Byron, Scott; "diamond editions" of Tennyson and Longfellow; a half-dozen paper-covered novels by Dickens and Scott; and the owner of the shop gave me, Faith Gartney's Girlhood and Hitherto, both by Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney. The riches of Golconda were *as nothing in my mind* compared with my own when all these books were on the shelves in my study; and eighteen dollars was the investment. I especially reveled in the poetry. I bought the volume of Byron because, when Mrs. Allen found me reading Don Juan in her volume, she took it away from me. I'll never forget how I waded through that poem in my own book, trying to find out what was wrong with it, *but failed*. I thought it was the stupidest poem ever written. *Don Juan's philanderings were too far beyond my thought and horizon to seem more than a hopeless muddle*.

In 1871 there was no high school in Cattaraugus County. However, there were two seminaries under the direction of the Methodist Church. The nearest was "Chamberlain Institute and Female College" at Randolph, about eighteen miles from Otto. ***[KSC12] {end of page 4-34}

In September, father took me and my precious trunk and a bundle of bedding in the wagon and drove to Randolph. The Institute was situated on a hill between two villages and consisted of a brick dormitory, one wing for the boys and the other for the girls, and a wooden building given over to classrooms. The offices and dining room were in the main part of the brick building, also rooms for the literary societies. The table in the dining room accommodated fifteen or twenty each, boys on one side, girls on the other, and a professor to preside at each *to keep order*.

The teachers were superior in character and attainment. The principal, James T. Edwards, was an able man of long experience *in teaching and* was especially brilliant in the physical sciences. His wife was the preceptress, a fine-looking woman, dignified and a successful teacher of French and painting. Darius Baker, who taught Latin and Greek, was afterwards for many years a judge in Newport, Rhode Island. Isaac Clements, who taught mathematics, later became the principal of Cazenovia Seminary[KSC13]. These three men were graduates of Wesleyan University. They were men of high ideals and had great influence upon us all. The teachers of music and penmanship were also fine people.

For the first week life was glamorous. New teachers, new friends, new studies, new environment, all seemed wonderful to me. There were brilliant young instructors, and also brilliant {end of page 4-35} pupils, as later life proved. *Will Blake and Frank Thorpe both made records as teachers in secondary schools in New York City, and there were others who have attained honors. My own very close friend was Sarah Burlingame, a beautiful girl who later became Mrs. Prentice Webster of Lowell, Massachusetts.*

My special boy friend was David Jack, who, after a brilliant record in Wesleyan University, became an eminent lawyer in Bradford, Pa. David and I were the only pupils in college preparatory course in our class and thus we were thrown together. As he was of about my age, he was naturally attracted by the younger girls; and the authorities, recognizing that we were merely good friends, gave us more liberties than were usually accorded to a boy and girl. We studied together often. Dave had a better mind than I and had better grades than I in Latin and Mathematics; but he hated English and I overtopped him there to the extent that I was made salutatorian when we graduated, which I considered unjust. We remained firm friends as long as he lived. He married one of my mother's cousins, a beautiful girl, and their life together was most happy.

The eldest daughter of our principal, Grace Edwards, was a child of ten, and one of her dearest friends was a little girl whose family lived in Randolph, her name was Martha Van Rensselaer and I saw her often, never dreaming how closely she would be associated with me in later life. {end of page 4-36}

We had many activities at Chamberlain Institute and I was in them all. A literary society *met every week*, where we debated, orated, and declaimed; we also "published" a paper. Each winter there was a *competitive* oratorical contest. *We were given our topics and* could have no help in writing orations, but had training in declaiming them. *The judges were people selected from the town, Judge Henderson being one.* In the first competition it seems that a majority of the judges decided I should have the second prize,; but *Judge Henderson thought otherwise and said I should not have the second prize--if I was not give the first prize, I could not have any and he*

would give me one. What happened was that from him I received a beautiful set of Scott's novels complete, a much handsomer prize than either of the other two. I was overcome and wanted to weep. These books have been a joy to me *all my life*. The next winter I was given first prize, a set of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's poems.

There was one phase of life in Chamberlain Institute that I found very unpleasant -- the pressure put upon me, mostly by my schoolmates to "experience religion." They felt that my lack of faith was sending me *on the broad path* to perdition. At first I did not attend weekly prayer-meetings, then I was accused of fear lest I be "converted", so I went regularly and sat there like a wooden image, unimpressed. Meanwhile I developed a sharp tongue against these onslaughts on my spiritual life {end of page 4-37} and inside I was ugly and rebellious. One night, after prayer-meeting, Professor Darius Baker called me into his office and gave me a "straight talk." He said that I should not go to prayer meeting; that it was a damage to my character, as it was making me cynical, and cynicism narrowed and contorted character. I meekly obeyed, and the bitterness of the battle remained with me. Just before I graduated Dr. Edwards took me aside and labored with me, and finally said with tears in his eyes, "I believe that sometime we shall believe alike." I answered, "I cannot believe it, for so many of the attributes of your God, such as jealousy, revenge, and sending to eternal torment *poor mortals*, are the attributes of a devil," and that ended it.

However, it was not until I went to Cornell, where no one *cared a flip* about my beliefs and it was taken for granted that I could look after my own soul, that I became tolerant. I had met intolerance with intolerance. Cornell taught me again the lesson taught me by my parents, to respect the spiritual experiences and religious beliefs of others. I have never had an argument with any one about religion since; and I have counted among my intimate friends people of every creed, from Catholic to Buddhist, and people of no creed at all. I quite agreed with my Shinto friend, S. Hori, when he said: "No man has any more right to talk to me intimately about my religion than he has to talk to me about my wife." That early experience [at Chamberlain] has always set me firmly against propaganda when I could "spot it" as such. {end of page 4-38}

I graduated from Chamberlain Institute in June, 1873. My Latin salutatory I declaimed from the stage, and to the disgust of my many friends, who had been in the habit of coming to our public exercises to listen to what I had to say. I certainly had gained much from my stay at Chamberlain Institute. I had learned to use my mind, and made many contacts with cultured and superior people, and had been very happy in my friendships. Of course I had some "love affairs"; but they were harmless and did not do more than to exercise my emotions healthfully. I had my eyes fixed upon a University education and could not let anything happen that would interfere with that goal. My ambition was my insurance against sentimental infections. As a matter of fact I was never popular with young men. I was too independent for one thing, and I did not appeal to the masculine taste. On the other hand, I always had good friends among the boys of my acquaintance, friends on whom I could rely and who builded strong my faith in manhood.

The next year I taught school in Otto, and I enjoyed the experience. The summer of 1874 my parents and I spent with relatives in "The West." We first visited my father's sister, Charlotte

Willits, who with her daughter Helen and her son Eugene lived in Delhi, Michigan. They were of the best in every respect. We also visited at Monroe, Michigan, an older son, Edwin Willits, who later represented his district in Congress. {end of page 4-39} Thence we went to Chicago and to West Chicago to visit mother's sister Betsy and her family, almost all of them married and in homes of their own. Among them was Harlan Sanders, the portrait painter, and Calvin Sanders, whose daughter Bertha, then a child, was later a water-color artist and exhibited her pictures in a Paris salon.

From there we went to Aurora to visit the family of Alvin King, beloved by both my parents; thence to Elgin to visit Miss Addie Wing, an elder daughter of Charlotte Willits; and there we met for the first time her daughter Kate, now Mrs. Kate Sprowls of Los Angeles. It was a thrilling summer, meeting all these relatives, only a few of whom had I ever seen, and all of whom interested me.

We tarried so long in the West that I did not enter college that fall. Instead I took lessons in German with the principal of our village school, *Mr. John Burns, a fine man who later made a notable record as a lawyer.*

[HERE ENDS CHAPTER 4 IN THE BOOK. CHAPTER 5 IN THE BOOK BEGINS BELOW.]

I*^[KSC14] first thought of Cornell when, during my last term at Chamberlain Institute, one of our graduates who had entered Cornell talked to me about it. He said: "It is a great place for an education; but if you go there you won't have such a gay time as you have had here, for the boys there won't pay any attention to the college girls." I thought seriously and finally concluded: {end of page 4-40} "Cornell must be a good place for a girl to get an education -- it has all the advantages of a university and a convent combined."

I started for Cornell in November, 1874, entering at the opening of the second term. I stopped at Elmira on my way, and John Hillebrand, Cousin Fidelia's husband, came with me *from there* to see me settled. *It was* discouraging business, but we finally found a room, *with a Mr. and Mrs. Harvey*, in a house on East Seneca Street *just below Spring Street*, and a place to board *with a Mr. and Mrs. Halsey* in a house on the opposite side of the street.

There were then a few scattering houses on East Seneca Street above Spring, and a few on Eddy Street: but there were no paved side-walks anywhere. Now and then there was gravel on a side path. I climbed up to the University as bet I could, thankful that I was a country girl and accustomed to bad roads. Cascadilla Place was a forbidding-looking structure, but it housed many professors and their families and many students. The bridge across Cascadilla Creek had a low wooden coping; the beautiful bridge of the present day was built and given to the University many years later by William Sage. Where the old Armory now stands was the small wooden railway station of the Elmira, Cortland and Northern R. R. It was a terminal station, as at that time the road was finished no farther. The railway had been admitted to the campus to bring material for the University; but the {end of page 4-41} station was no ornament. There was a little ravine north of it which was crossed by a wooden bridge. There were two houses on Central Avenue, one of them Professor Thomas F. Crane's and the other belonging to the

Commandant. Sage College and Sage Chapel were in process of building. Morrill Hall, then called South University, and White Hall, then called North University, had class-rooms in their central portion but at the ends were dormitories for *boys* and at the top of each was a large lecture room, *Room K and Room T*. Geology, zoology, and physiology were taught in McGraw Hall, *though* the central portion of its first floor was given to the library. Of Sibley College only what is now the west section was completed. The engineering department had the first and second floors, and botany the upper floor.

A large wooden building* [KSC15] occupying a place west of that given to Goldwin Smith Hall held the departments of Chemistry, physics, and veterinary science**[KSC16]. On East Avenue, President White's house and north of it the houses of Professor Willard Fiske and Dr. [James] Law were completed. The farm-house, with its orchards and barns, occupied *nearly the place* of East Sibley and Lincoln Halls. *There were* a few old oaks and pines on the campus, but the elms were all just planted and protected by *their* boxes. However, it was not a bleak place, because *from almost any point* there was a glorious view of Cayuga Lake and the valley, *lost now behind the trees*. {end of page 4-42}

I found I must take several examinations in order to enter, and *this* was discouraging. I had not had enough German to enter the class; but I saw a Masonic pin on the vest of the professor in charge. *My* father, thinking I was to be plunged into a strange and dangerous world, had given me his Masonic pin and a letter from his lodge asking all good Masons to be kind to me. Armed with these, I called upon Professor Bela P. MacKoon in his house; he was a man who struck terror to the hearts of his students, but he was an excellent teacher. I presented my credentials and no one could have been kinder to me than he; he made me come to him for the needful lessons and would take no pay. Before I joined his fear-stricken class I was convinced that, if his pupils knew how really kind he was, they would not mind so much the lash of his sarcasm.

At my boarding place were *six or seven* Brazilian students. They were young and had had only a few months' study of *the English language*; they found their university work hard and discouraging, and were homesick. *Although* they were so young, they wore beards or moustaches or, both, which made them seem much older *than they were*. I found them serious, quiet, polite young men. Luckily I was not the *only one of my sex* at the table, for *Mrs. Halsey* always presided and one of her daughters usually sat with us. {end of page 4-43}

One day, when I had been obliged to take two unexpected entrance examinations, I was low in my mind and looked longingly into the depths of the Cascadilla gorge as I crossed the bridge. *As I seated myself at the dinner table* a letter from my mother was at my plate, into which I gave a *surreptitious* glance. She had sensed my homesickness and was *sweetly* sympathetic. It was too much for me; I felt the tears coming, and fled to the other room, ashamed of my lack of self-control, but I recovered soon and came back to the table. Lo and behold, all the Brazilian youths were weeping, their tears rolling over their beards into the soup; they were just homesick lads, although they looked like men! I had never seen men weep, and I began to laugh *hysterically*; then they laughed too, and we ate our dinner in sympathetic sadness and cheer.

My room at *Mrs. Harvey's* looked out over town and valley; it was frankly a bedroom, and two students, William Berry and Spencer Coon, had their room off the same hall. *However*, I was

not disturbed by this, since I expected no social *intercourse* with gentlemen. Imagine my dismay a few days later, when answering a knock at the door, I discovered *there* a tall and dignified *young* man who evidently expected to be invited in. I stood guard firmly, while he explained that he had called to invite me to join the Christian Association. I thanked him and he retreated. Soon my neighbors called on me, and since they knew it was my bedroom, I managed *in some way* to express my dismay at having no other place {end of page 4-44} to receive callers, but they were cheerful and seemed to think it was all right.

That night I asked *Mrs. Harvey* if I might receive callers in her parlor and she refused. *Later* she suggested that I take another small room for my bedroom, saying she would help me *make my room* into a study, where I might receive callers without embarrassment. When we had *finished*, it was an attractive room and greatly needed, for I had many callers, some women students came, but more men, naturally enough, as there were *but* few girls in Cornell *at that time*. It seemed that my *boy* friend of Chamberlain Institute had a mistaken *idea* about the social ostracism of girls at Cornell.

There was a ball in Library Hall at Thanksgiving. Mr. E. F. Jordao, a dignified and handsome Brazilian who sat at table with me, invited me to go. I consented, *of course*, as that seemed the only courteous thing to do, and I sent home for my evening dresses (two was all I had). *I had not brought them along*, thinking I should not need them. *However, this and other invitations to parties in the homes of Ithacans worried me lest I was not doing the correct thing socially.* All was strange to me, and both my landladies were newcomers to Ithaca. I took my life in my hands and called on Vice-President William Channing Russel, who looked so fierce and was really so gentle. I told him of my perplexities. He *said I should not* go anywhere with Brazilian students, *as they* {end of page 4-45} were foreigners with very different customs from ours. I told him I had promised to go this time, but I would not go again, at which he remarked *that* "advice to young people always made them more determined to go their own way." *However, we had* on the whole an amicable conference, *which* was the beginning of a friendship *that lasted as long as he lived*. I went to the ball with Mr. Jordao, and no Puritan youth could have treated me with more courtesy and respect. I enjoyed it all greatly. The first people of Ithaca were in attendance and it seemed to me a brilliant affair. Professor Russel was certainly wrong about the Brazilian students I knew. They were gentlemen all, *judged from our standpoint, so far as I was able to discover.* *Later one of them, Mr. de Mello-Souza, married a sister of Professor Charles Crandall.*

As a result of my appeal to Professor Russel, his wife, a very superior woman, called on me and I was invited there for dinner, *and felt honored*. Ruth Putnam*[KSC17], a classmate of mine, was living with them, and she too called on me, which was pleasant. She also has been a lifelong friend.

In those days there was little afternoon work in the University, except in engineering. *At least* I had none, although I studied both botany and zoology and had laboratory periods in both. The zoology lecture room, *an Amphitheatre*, was in McGraw Hall *on the second floor*. *The professor stood with his back to the door that opens into the museum.* *His laboratory was back of* {end of page 4-46} *the raised seats and under them.* *We had to climb two flights of stairs to reach the botanical laboratory in Sibley College.* *I shall never forget how happy were Professor Prentiss*

and Instructor W. R. Dudley when in the next year they were moved to Sage College, *where their lecture room adjoined what seemed then luxurious laboratories.*

President White had furnished a room on the first floor of White Hall for the literary societies. The pictures on the walls and the bronze statuettes which were also his gift *were beautiful and impressive.*

The days were busy and happy. We climbed up to the University through snow and slush and sometimes on ice. *I made the sage* observation that the native Ithacan was never self-conscious when he fell on the icy walk; he got up *as well as he could*, and never looked *to see if some one had observed him*. Not so did the recent comers take their tumbles; *before they made effort to arise* they looked around furtively to see who might have witnessed their humiliation. There was a steep place by Cascadilla up which, one icy morning, a South American student was carefully climbing and which I was about to attempt. Just as he reached the top he slipped and came back down *on all fours*, landing at my feet. I was glad I did not understand the language he was using.

When spring came there were walks in the woods *after flowers* for the botany, and there were boat rides on the {end of page 4-47} lake, and *many* scrambles through the gorges. I had two *very kind* friends in the young men in my house, Will Berry and Spencer Coon, both of the class of '76, excellent students, with high ideals and deeply interested in their *university* work; they were *both* good companions and *very* thoughtful for my enjoyment. The lake was our favorite play-place. *It was very different then.* Two great side-wheel steamers made connections between the New York Central Railroad and Ithaca. (I still maintain that a side-wheeler is the most *beautiful and* swan-like craft in the world.) As we paddled out through the inlet we passed many barges, some of them with picturesque families aboard, their multi-colored wash flapping in the breeze. There were small sail boats in plenty and no cottages along the shores to take away the wildness that was their charm. There was an interclass regatta that was thrilling. The seniors spilled, the juniors stopped to rescue them, the sophomores were impeded by the mishap, *but* the freshmen rowed manfully on and won the race.

That summer*[KSC18] * was, to say the least, emotional. Will Berry and I had arrived at a stage in our relations that made a consultation with our parents desirable. On our way home I stopped at Forestville and met his father and mother and two sisters -- excellent and interesting people. A little later Will came to Otto and visited my parents and our engagement was approved by both families. *Alas!* It was one of those affairs that in less than a year fell by its own {end of page 4-48} weight. It was too emotional to meet the realities of life. I went with him to his senior ball in 1876 just to prove that there was nothing left of our tempestuous relations, and that night we bade each other a calm good-bye. I saw him only once afterward - when he called on us after I was married. He had a brilliant career as a newspaper man, working for several years on the New York Sun, then the Mecca of newspaper men. But he was too high-strung for the demands upon him. *His brain snapped**[KSC19] *and* an asylum shrouded his last years, *a sad ending for a beginning so promising.*

I returned to Cornell in the fall of 1875, rejoicing that Sage College was finished. It was a *beautiful* home for *us*, and highly appreciated by those of us who had experienced the

difficulties of living in town. There were *two or three* small reception rooms *besides* the large dining room, all well-furnished. My room was on the second floor on the north side *and very pleasant*. My roommate was Minerva Palmer '77, a beautiful Quakeress, and our companionship proved ideal. There were only thirty *of us* in the big dormitory, so only the first and second floors were in use. *With a front room or two on the third floor. Mr. and Mrs. Kinney, people of experience from Oberlin, had charge of the building and the refectory.* As thirty was a number too small *to run* a kitchen and dining room for them with profit, it was deemed expedient to give men students the privilege of *table board*. The dormitories in White and Morrill Halls were full of students, some of whom {end of page 4-49} had formed an eating club in a tenant house, just behind the President's, *called "The Struggle" - "for existence" being dropped as too long for daily use.* I think David Starr Jordan gave the club its name. *Later the Kappa Alpha and Psi Upsilon fraternities built their chapter houses on the campus, and these groups had tables in the Sage dining room.*

Although *we* were few, college spirit was with us. Ruth Putnam came to my room one evening asserting indignantly that the freshmen were holding a meeting *in a room of one of the class* and she averred something should be done about it. Something was done immediately; water from a pitcher was dashed over the transom to dampen freshman ardor. But it did not work that way. They *indignantly* made a sortie upon us, and as they outnumbered us, there was a *desperate* struggle on the stairs and a rumpus in the halls which shocked everybody not in the squabble. *Especially did it shock Mr. and Mrs. Kinney, who had been accustomed to deal with milder spirits in Oberlin.*

The fracas resulted in the organization of a student government association in Sage College. *Julia Thomas (later Mrs. Irvine, President of Wellesley) was elected President and a committee appointed to make rules for our guidance.* These rules, *finally* unanimously adopted, were not so many, but *otherwise* were not unlike the rules of the self-government association of today, with the exception of the one restriction that the {end of page 4-50} women students should not bow to their men student friends on the campus. We were so few that it was embarrassing to *recognize or* be recognized in the crowds passing *to and from* classes. As soon as we explained to our friends the reason for ignoring them, they not only accepted the dictum, but confessed relief.

President White and Mr. Sage *both* thought we should have a chaperone in charge of Sage College, but we *resented this and* would not have it. We came to Cornell for education *and* had been reared to care for ourselves; chaperoning we considered insulting to our integrity. However, I must confess that some of our rules were made to govern any girl who *overstepped* our ideas of propriety.

We had a happy social life in Sage that first year. The gymnasium was *where the kitchen now is*, and was reached from the front hall via a covered porch. We had dances there every Friday night; sometimes there were girls only, but more often our men friends were invited. *I remember that* one evening the entire Kappa Alpha Fraternity came and we had a pleasant evening, a social affair probably not recorded in the annals of *that organization.* *I remember that* one of the members, Mr. Ballard, made each girl with whom he danced promise to bow to him when she met him on the campus. *I am sure that* we all promised, but *I doubt if any one fulfilled her*

promise; I know I did not, although he was a nice lad. But lads, however nice, could not break our rules. {End of page 4-51}

We had musicals; Professor Estevan Fuertes***[KSC20], *being a leader in giving these. He played the flute exceedingly well and he brought with him players of the piano and violin. We also had readings by Professor [Hiram] Corson. He read Shakespeare to us and also read from modern American writers, Bret Harte, and George Cable, and others. We appreciated this greatly, for I had never heard anywhere such perfect rendition of the spirit of the printed word as Professor Corson gave. Since he read to us without compensation, we thought we should do something to show our appreciation, so we bought a reading chair for his study, and planned to give it as a surprise. To make sure of his presence at the function, we took his son Eugene, then a sophomore, into our confidence. He met our committee on the morning of the day when the gift was to be bestowed in the evening and declared: "Pa is **awful** cross this morning, but I think he will be here on time."* A worshipful maiden lady on our committee was shocked at this statement, but the others of us were delighted; it made our professor seem more like other men, for if ever a mortal looked the superman, he did -- tall, spare, with flowing beard and hair rather long, his gaunt face illumined with eloquent eyes *that at times were piercing.*

There were interesting personalities *among us* at Sage College that first year. I remember most distinctly the following: {end of page 4-52}

Julia Thomas (*Mrs. [Charles J.] Irvine*), tall, *spare*, and *always* dressed in a rather masculine fashion, her skirt reaching to her shoe-tops while *most of us wore* ours barely clearing the ground. Her hair *was cut* short; *this and* a sailor hat and a cape coat, added to the masculinity of her appearance. She had a strong face and very keen eyes. She was *very busy* studying for her A. M. [Master's degree] and did not encourage acquaintance; *however, she had great* charm of manner and every word *from her lips was* interesting. She *was, some years later*, President of Wellesley College.

Martha Carey Thomas was in appearance an ideal of purely intellectual young womanhood. Her broad forehead, *her clear cut* features, *her hair drawn* smoothly back to a Grecian knot, all gave *the impression of* scholarliness. She was dignified and cold to all but a few. She had come to Cornell to study *and she did* not waste her time on social *intercourse*, nor did she think we were worthwhile *anyway*. A great work *in founding* Bryn Mawr College lay in her future.

I *found*, in my limited acquaintance with these two Misses Thomas, who were to be presidents of colleges, this difference at that period of their development. Martha Carey Thomas did not *care a flip* for humanity, while Julia Thomas had *a heart* for her fellow mortals. Many years later I met Martha Carey Thomas *and found her greatly changed in this respect. She had grown kinder* {end of page 4-53} and more gracious *and was ready to give help where it was needed. I was charmed by her attitude.*

The most beautiful girl in Sage was Margaret Hicks. *Tall, slender, graceful and dignified, her face as delicate and exquisite as a cameo, she was a delight to the eye. She was studying architecture and married, later, Arthur Volkmann, one of her fellow students in that course.*

Harriet May Mills, a pretty girl with a round face, red cheeks, large dark eyes, and dark, wavy hair, was Miss Hicks' room-mate. *Perhaps she was the last one we would have thought of as a future leader on the fighting front of woman suffrage. Another beautiful girl was Anna Louise Head. She had a peachy complexion and pleasing manners. None of us wondered that she won the heart of one of the most brilliant men that ever graduated from Cornell, Dr. N. Archer Randolph.*

Ruth Putnam was always an influential person *in her environment*. She was short, stout and had *beautiful red crinkly hair*. We all knew that she was *well aware* of her superior social position as member of the illustrious *Putnam family*, yet she was never a snob. Her historical works have brought great *honor* to the class of 1878. She also did excellent work as an Alumni Trustee.

Susanna Phelps (later Mrs. S. H. Gage) was one of the most charming of us all. *She was short in stature, with a most attractive face and beautiful eyes and, in addition, winning manners, {end of page 4-54} keen wit, and a joyousness in life that was infectious.*

There were also two inseparable friends, Lisette Jones, black-eyed, handsome, and vivacious, and Jenny Beatty, (later Mrs. A. J. Loos), whose sweet and gentle ways made her loved by all who knew her.

Outside of Sage, in Cascadilla, lived the most striking young woman in the University, Harriet Tilden (Later Mrs. William Vaughn Moody). She was fine-looking, with a superb carriage and a winning dignity. She was wealthy and her clothes were always elegant and in perfect taste. We in Sage saw little of her or her room-mate, Miss Ida Bruce, but we all regarded her as a most attractive and splendid personality. We were wont to weave romances about her; and sundry gossip of her engagement to one of our most brilliant young professors thrilled us. I am sure that none of us would have been surprised to know that she would marry a poet and do effective work for her Alma Mater when she was elected trustee.

On the whole, we were happy together in Sage College that year 1875-6. One great privilege we had in the frequent visits of President White. He gave us talks on various subjects, from our proper behavior to the art of the Renaissance. More than that, he invited us to his home, where we met the exquisitely beautiful Mrs. White, whose simple graciousness charmed us all. There we gazed at treasures in beautiful books and pictures which President White himself showed and explained to us. I shall never forget {end of page 4-55} the feeling of exaltation I experienced because of that inspiring evening.

I was taking President White's course in the history of the Reformation this year. *I was never so swept off my feet by any other course I had ever taken.* He revealed to us history in *all its* relations to literature, religion, thought, art, architecture, and music, as well as to nations, wars, and *people*. I was so eager a student that I read thirty volumes in connection with this course in one term. I read avidly in the library every afternoon and Mr. White loaned me some books from his own library *as well*. I still *have* the syllabus of these lectures with my notes in class. It is to me a treasured volume. It seems to me a pity that we have so crowded our curricula *in these*

days, that a student would find impossible *such a glorious course of reading* as I found time for *that year*. My mind and my vision expanded in leaps *and bounds through this experience*.

Another privilege we appreciated was Sage Chapel, with its sermons by eminent divines of *all* denominations. *I shall never forget* when Henry Ward Beecher came, how the chapel was crowded *to the limit*, and the windows also were filled with eager heads, *to which, presumably, suspended bodies were attached*.

Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, *already an author, was a social factor with us that year*. Young, enthusiastic, he was an interesting figure in the Sage drawing-rooms in the early evenings, {end of page 4-56} when we were wont to gather there. My first meeting with him *the year before* was an embarrassing moment for me. I was struggling against a strong wind between Morrill Hall and McGraw and lost my hat, which went *gaily* tumbling over and over in full view of oncoming students. Professor Boyesen chased it, rescued it, and presented it to me with a profound bow, removing his high silk hat with a flourish, *meanwhile*, to the obvious joy of *our passing audience*.

This year I was in his course in the history of German Literature, the first part of which was given to folk-lore. He was an interesting lecturer, but restless; *often* he would begin a topic on the platform in front of us and finish it at the window *gazing on the scenery* with his back toward us. *He was* in appearance a typical Scandinavian; yellow curling hair and beard, milk-white complexion, rosy cheeks, and *very* blue eyes. It happened *quite miraculously* that our neighbor of ours, when I was a child on the farm, had loaned me a fat book of fairy tales, both English and German. I read and re-read this precious volume *with an avidity possible only to a country child whose books are few*. Thus I was familiar with many of the folk-tales given in this course, and Professor Boyesen once said to me:

"Miss Botsford, I have not found among my students any other so familiar with German folk-lore as you. I think you must have given much time to it."

"Yes, I have given many happy hours to it," I answered, without further explanation. {End of page 4-57}

Professor Boyesen was educated in Europe and was not accustomed to our familiar ways. He *joined the Psi Upsilon Fraternity* and ate at Sage dining room *with that group*. After a provocative incident, he confided to Professor Lazenby**[KSC21] one day: "Cornell students have no more idea of caste than a cow," which delighted us greatly.

The first year in Sage was notable for many things. There were among us several older women, teachers who had waited for the doors of a university to open and to give them opportunities for advanced studies *as a help in their profession*; there were serious-minded girls who studied hard, some of them typical grinds; and there was a sprinkling of those who were gay and socially-minded. Some of them came from luxurious homes, some from families of *high* culture, and some, like myself, from village or farm, where in that day cultural influences were more or less accidental. Some were good to look upon and some were not. When, in recent times, I have heard complaints about the younger generation, I have thought of a slim girl of the class of '79 who succeeded in keeping engaged to two Cornellians who were roommates for an entire year

before discovery revealed her double devotion -- a feat that Cornell *flappers* of today could scarcely equal.

Among the pleasantest of our social events were the Delta Upsilon "Quarterlies", *dances given once a term in the society's rooms in a village block. Delta Upsilon, not being a secret {end of page 4-58} fraternity, had the advantage of being at liberty to use its chapter rooms for social purposes.* These dances were informal and delightful. I remember well one which was a mask costume party. Recently I chanced to find my costume in a trunk of by-gones. I personified "Night"; over a *black silk gown that trailed I wore a long* drapery of black tarlatan set with silver stars. My long black hair was loose, the tarlatan veil was fastened on my forehead with a silver ornament, and my black domino was edged with stars. Of course I made the costume myself. I was a sombre [Sic.] figure, *in the gay throng*, but *I am sure* no one else had a gayer evening than I.

All fraternities had their chapter rooms in the city blocks in the early days. The first fraternity house was built by Alpha Delta Phi in Buffalo Street, *just above Spring Street.* Kappa Alpha was the first to build on the campus and Psi Upsilon followed soon after. President White was in favor of allowing the fraternities to build on University land, as he thought it best for the students to be *away from the town and near their work.*

When Commencement came, the visiting trustees were lodged in Sage and we met them socially. Among them was Erastus Brooks, *a man of advanced years and of great personal charm.* I had the privilege of a long talk with him about the education of women, and he said to me impressively: "There will come a time when every {end of page 4-59} room in Sage College will be taken, for young women will seek the advantages of Cornell. I shall not live to see this, and perhaps you may not, but the time is surely coming." I have lived to see two great dormitories besides Sage filled and overflowing. However many other halls may be built, Sage College will always be most important, not only because it was the first, but because this *magnificent* gift of Henry Sage secured the rights and privileges of Cornell University for women students forever. *It was the bargain* Mr. Sage made with the University Trustees and the State of New York. There have since been *several* times when we were profoundly grateful for his foresight *in this matter.*

At this point in my college story it is high time that I "*page* John Henry Comstock". He had called upon me in February *while I was at Mrs. Harvey's.* He tells me with vivid memory how he dreaded to make this call, and had postponed it as long as possible, but that he came away feeling it was time not wasted; he confided to his roommate, *Charles B. Mandeville*, that it was not half as bad as he had feared. I remember that he kindly offered to do anything he could for me and that I liked him; and my landlady, who took a motherly interest in my callers, told me he was highly esteemed. Probably, if we had *dreamed* what Fate *had up her sleeve for us*, he would not have come, and I would have bolted my door against him if he had *come*, since we *both at that time* were dreaming of futures with other persons. {end of page 4-60}

I was in Mr. Comstock's class in the winter of 1875 and I liked his clear way of presenting what seemed to me, a very complicated subject. I must have studied well, for I still have my term paper, marked 95 by Instructor Comstock's blue pencil. A letter to my mother *states:* "Mr.

Comstock called and stayed about two hours the other evening; he is very nice." In a previous letter I had written:

"Mr. Comstock (the gentleman of whom Jennie Bartlett wrote me) took me through his laboratory after the lecture *the other day*; he is our lecturer in zoology now. Such thousands of insects I never saw before! Then we climbed up and saw his chum, Mr. George Berry, ring the chimes, which was very interesting. Mr. Comstock is one of the kindest of men. He is a young fellow, still in his twenties, and he has lectured in the University for two years past. Report says he is engaged to Docie Willett, but don't mention it!"

Our relations were amicable and casual during the remainder of that year. During the Spring term he was very busy preparing lectures for a summer school in Peoria, Illinois, and I saw little of him.

It was in the autumn of 1875 that my real acquaintance with Henry Comstock began, *the first year in Sage*, when men came there for their meals. We were allowed to invite *any of our friends* to sit with us at *the table*. I asked for Mr. Comstock and Dan Flannery '76, *who was one of my preparatory school friends*; {end of page 4-61} both were rooming in Morrill Hall. *Mr. Lazenby and one or two other men* sat at our table also. I was told afterwards by *Mr. Kinney*, the manager of Sage, that Mr. Comstock asked if he could sit next to me, since I was the only girl in Sage with whom he felt acquainted. Susanna Phelps (*Mrs. Gage*) and *Rose Eddy, her room-mate*, were *the others* at our end of the table.

We had *very* happy times at meals. We were so gay and laughed so much that we were looked at askance by some representatives of dignity and decorum; *but at that time America was a free country and we were Americans*, so we laughed as we chose. Susanna had a laugh of such silvery sweetness that it ought to have redeemed us. *I find the following* in a letter to my mother: "Did I tell you that Mr. Comstock sits next to me at table at his own request? He is very pleasant and the very essence of kindness. This afternoon he invited me to go and gather moss and autumn leaves in the gorge. We had a charming time." After this, *I note*, he often invited me to walk; once I write: "We walked three hours, such a grand walk. Mr. Comstock and I thoroughly understand each other and that is why we are so thoroughly friends." But we apparently did more than walk, for I *state* in a letter of Nov. 28, 1875: "On Thanksgiving Day Mr. Comstock took me for a drive to Enfield Falls, *a place of resort* about six miles from here. It was a beautiful day and the scenery magnificent. We had dinner at a charming, old-fashioned tavern. We returned about 4 o'clock." {end of page 4-62} I *later* reassure my mother by saying: "Mr. Comstock is noted for being a young man who is a sort of a general friend to young women of his acquaintance, but never wastes any sentiment upon them."

In March, 1876, there came a break in Mr. Comstock's work *from a very sad cause*. One reason for the good friendship *and reciprocal understanding* between him and *myself*, was *because I knew of his relations to Jennie Bartlett*, '77. She was, *in a way, a member of my family and, although I had seldom seen her, I knew her as a beautiful girl in both face and character*, and it was she who gave me a letter of introduction to Mr. Comstock. The two were not betrothed, but were very dear friends; and I knew that he looked forward *to the time when he should win her*. It was discovered in this winter of 1876 that she was a victim of tuberculosis, and her mother took her to Florida. Mr. Comstock, with his usual directness, went to Dr. Wilder *with the matter* and

obtained leave of absence from the University. He sailed March 18th *on the S. S. "Champion"* for Charleston on his way to Florida. *For some reason* there were many clergymen on board this boat, *and* although Mr. Comstock was still a member of the Methodist Church, *he evidently then, as ever afterward, greatly* disliked theological discussion. A letter from him declares: "I hope I shall never *hear of my* going to sea again with several clergymen. It is hard luck; one of them talked me nearly to death." It was a very rough {end of page 4-63} and he confesses that many times he wished himself aboard a schooner, or some other craft that would "keep its keel under it." He sailed up the St. John's River on March 24th *on the steamer "Davis Clarke."* Florida in 1876 *was vastly different from Florida of today. Its* development had hardly begun *and he found it a "terribly uncivilized country, no railroads, no telegraph lines, no nothing."*

It was at Fort Reed, *at Dr. Foster's sanitarium*, that Miss Bartlett and her mother found an abiding place; Mr. Comstock found a boarding place not far away, where he was of even more interest to an army of cockroaches than they were to him, for they ate the binding off his books and the mucilage off his stamps. However, he was now able to do *all that lay in his power* to make happier the life of the girl *whom* he loved. *She told me afterwards how kind he was to others besides herself, and how soon he gained the favor of the sanitarium household.*

He had many hours in which to explore the country and give free hand to his activities as a naturalist. He writes:

"This is the richest entomological field in which I have ever worked. I have studied my specimens only a little *as yet*, but I think I am finding many things new to science. I am making notes, and if health, *etc.*, permits, I shall probably have material enough for a thesis. I have begun systematic work on the Orthoptera (an order of insects containing grasshoppers, crickets, cockroaches, et al.), especially the Acrididae (a family of grasshoppers); and already made {end of page 4-64} some important observations on geographic distribution and mimicry; my list of probable new species is astounding to me. Leland Howard collected grasshoppers in Ithaca last year and obtained, I think, about 22 species. I collected in a single day last week fifteen species."

He had some quite exciting experiences on his collecting trips. Once he saw something moving between two logs in his path; he thought it was a rabbit at first, then discovered it was a section of a snake; he jumped back, unscrewed his net handle, his only weapon, but the reptile passed on peacefully. In addition to his care of the invalid and his interest as a collector, he had time to be a useful citizen of Fort Reed, for he writes to Lazenby: "I am tired today because I worked yesterday fighting wild fire until I was forced to lie down on the ground. It came near destroying the village."

The Florida experience ended sadly. Miss Bartlett *did not gain* and she *definitely* decided that marriage was out of the question for her, although at that time she did not anticipate a near approach of death. Her decision was a hard blow to Mr. Comstock; *and* probably no one better than I knew how hard. He came home early in May *on the schooner "Flora Woodhouse"*. Luckily for him he had *a beloved* work which was calling him to action, and he wrote from Fort Reed: "I shall come home soon. If I stay much longer it will break upon my summer work at Ithaca, and, as I was away last summer, it will not do. The work I shall do {end

of page 4-65} there is breeding insects and it is necessary to begin with the season to have the work amount to much."

I remember how we all welcomed him back to Ithaca. Since no one but Dr. Wilder, Mr. Gage, Mr. Lazenby and myself had known of the real reason for his Florida trip, and as Mr. Comstock and I took frequent walks together that spring, we heard rumors as to our future relationship which amused us greatly because they were so false. {end of page 4-66}

THIS IS THE END OF THIS MANUSCRIPT CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER FIVE IN THE BOOK ENDS HERE.

1 As capitalized here, the Decalogue refers to the Ten Commandments given to the Israelites by God in the Hebrew Bible, Exodus 2-17. Un-capitalized the term refers to a set of rules of binding authority. [Extracted from the internet 6/9/16, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/decalogue>.]

2 President Abraham Lincoln assassinated April 15, 1865 at Ford's Theater in Washington, D. C. Lincoln was the sixteenth American president.

3 In the book, "...she too appeared to have forgotten it." (p.66)

4 Original editor's note at the bottom of page 4-34 from Herrick, hand written, then type-written on masking tape, and subsequently crossed out by Wormuth: "Fredonia is about 30 miles from Otto, and in those times, it would take three or four days to make the trip with horse and buggy wagon. -Editor."

5 Here ends Chapter 4 in the book. The manuscript writing beginning at this point (Chapter 5 in the book) served as an article in A Half-Century at Cornell 1880-1930: A Retrospect of The Cornell Daily Sun, 1930. It was an article from pp25-6, 72 entitled "*Pioneers Among Women by Anna Botsford Comstock '78*". -KSt 6/8/16

6" civil engineering" added to this list by Herrick (p. 75)

7 In the book, "Mental illness..." (p. 79)

8" Professor of Civil Engineering, Estevan Fuertes, the father of Louis Agassiz Fuertes, Cornell's famous bird artist, whose paintings illustrate the two volumes of Birds of New York, published by New York State; and part of the three volumes of Birds of Massachusetts. Many of the original paintings for Birds of New York are in the New York State Education Building in Albany, New York. ---R.G.S."

9" William R. Lazenby, a classmate of Mr. Comstock, became Professor of Horticulture and Forestry in Ohio State University and was Director of the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station for several years. - G.W.H." (page 83)

NOTES

¹ Anna Botsford Comstock, *Comstocks of Cornell: Biography and Autobiography of John Henry Comstock and Anna Botsford Comstock*, ed. Ruby Green Bell Smith and Glenn W. Herrick, Glenn W. (New York: Comstock Publishing Associates, 1953), v.

² *Ibid.*, vii.

³ *Ibid.*, figs. 1, 2, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 267.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 271–72.

⁶ Morris Bishop, *A History of Cornell* (Cornell University Press, 1962). Bishop demonstrated to be more encompassing of other sources for information on the Comstocks. Of the thirty-one references in the Index of his book for both Mr. and Mrs. Comstock five of his notes resource *Comstocks of Cornell* for information. The same cannot be said for subsequent researchers. -KSt.

⁷ Elizabeth (Betsy) Birmingham, “‘I See Dead People’: Archive, Crypt, and an Argument for the Researcher’s Sixth Sense,” in *Landmark Essays on Archival Research*, ed. Lynee Lewis Gaillet, Helen Diana Eidson, and Don Gammill Jr. (New York and London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 165–70.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁹ Glenn W. Herrick, “Glenn Washington Herrick Papers,” April 12, 1938, 21-23-844, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

¹⁰ Anna Botsford Comstock, *My Own Book of Three Flowers Which Blossom in April: [And Three Flowers Which Blossom in May]* (New York: American Book Co., 1904).

¹¹ Cornell University Press, “Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records, [ca1880-1935],” March 16, 1911, Box 22, Cornell University Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection.

¹² Kevin C. Armitage, *The Nature Study Movement: The Forgotten Popularizer of America’s Conservation Ethic* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009).

¹³ Cornell University Press, “Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records, [ca1880-1935].”

¹⁴ Anna Botsford Comstock, *Handbook of Nature Study: For Teachers and Parents*, 19th ed. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Comstock Publishing/Cornell University Press, 1928), p. VII.

¹⁵ Cornell University and Office of the Dean of the University Faculty, “Patterson, Woodford,” 1948, <https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/18439>.

¹⁶ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, 2nd ed. (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2015), xiii.

¹⁷ “Telephone Line” is the children’s game in which the group of players sit in a circle. The starting player whispers into their neighbor’s ear a message. The second player then whispers what they could discern into the third player’s ear. The message is passed from player to player with the final participant reciting aloud to the group the message last received often with humorous results. The game is believed to have originated around the seventeenth century and is known by several names including “Chinese Whispers.” “Chinese Whispers,” *Wikipedia*, October 21, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Chinese_whispers&oldid=745414692

¹⁸ Philip. Dorf, *The Builder: A Biography of Ezra Cornell*, 1st ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Pine Grove Press, 1952). Dorf relied chiefly on the Ezra Cornell Papers (currently archived *Ezra Cornell papers, #1-1-1. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library*), and referred to John Henry Comstock only one time on page 401. Anna Botsford Comstock was not included in this book. In his book, *Liberty Hyde Bailey : An Informal Biography : A Pioneer Educator in Horticulture*, 1st ed. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956), Dorf relies on anecdotes from Bailey for his information on Anna Comstock. Contrarily, John Henry Comstock is not mentioned in this book.

¹⁹ Anna Botsford Comstock, “Boys and Girls: A Nature Study Magazine,” ed. Martha Van Rensselaer and Spencer, John W., *The Stephens Publishing Co.* v. 1-6, v. 7, no. 1–6 (1902). “When I was a child “caraway worms,” as I called the black and green caterpillars which fed on that spicy herb in our back yard, were to me fascinating creatures. I watched them by the hour when they were eating or were “humped up,” resting. I touched them with straws to see them push out their orange-colored horns, and I wondered of what use such soft horns were as a means of defense. Once I saw two of these caterpillars quite fully grown meet on a slender stem; as soon as they touched they drew back spitefully and butted each other like a pair of “billy” goats. They whacked each other so I heard it distinctly several times; then both turned around in a panic and hurried off in opposite directions as fast as their legs and prolegs could carry them.” Comstock, Anna Botsford. “The Orange Papilio.” *Boys and Girls: A Nature Study Magazine* 1.1 (1902): 2-4. Print.

²⁰ Anna Botsford Comstock, “The Comstocks of Cornell: Biography and Autobiography of John Henry Comstock and Anna Botsford Comstock” (Ithaca, N. Y., unpublished), #21-25-27, Box 8, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection.

²¹ *Rural Hours* in particular has been called the “...first major work of environmental literary nonfiction by an American woman writer, both a source and a rival of Thoreau's *Walden*.” Rochelle Johnson and Daniel Patterson, eds., *Susan Fenimore Cooper: New Essays on Rural Hours and Other Works* (University of Georgia Press, 2001). Information also found at “Susan Fenimore Cooper,” *Wikipedia*, July 6, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Susan_Fenimore_Cooper&oldid=728633378

²² Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Marble Faun; Or, The Romance of Monte Beni*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1899. Print. Originally printed in 1860 by the author. Further information at “*The Marble Faun*,” *Wikipedia*, November 7, 2015. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=The_Marble_Faun&oldid=748289061.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Anna Botsford Comstock and John Henry Comstock, “John Henry and Anna Botsford Comstock Papers,” #21-23-25, Cornell University Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection, Box 1.

Correspondence from 1872. Several unintelligible letters from Comstock's friend, Samantha, in 1872 are badly faded and difficult to read. This correspondence from Samantha in November 1872 is legible. Samantha is unknown with no further information about her in Comstock's papers.

²⁵ Ibid. Box 7. There is a small red diary wherein Comstock writes on January 19, 1874: "Five years from next 4th July I shall be married to Will Dewey. Providence permitting – (July 4th, 1878)." Comstock also writes that her father was treasurer of the Masons, and served as a mediator between lovesick friends.

²⁶ "Such a one I have been longing for all my life--someone to judge human experience fairly--someone who neither excuses nor condemns the bad, but calls it by its honest name and lets it go--someone who will not exalt nor disparage the good but will give it its just place in the economy of being. I have longed for a fair and unprejudiced judge of the vicissitudes of human experience and at last have found it (in dispassionate teak-wood)." Anna Botsford Comstock (Marian Lee), *Confessions to a Heathen Idol* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1906), xv.

²⁷ "The hour is nigh; the waning Queen/Walks forth to rule the later night;/Crown'd with the sparkle of a Star,/And throned on orb of ashen light/" Richard Francis Burton, *The Kasîdah of Haljîl Abdu'l El-Yezdîl*, 2nd ed. (New York: Brentano's, 1926), 1.

²⁸ "Personifying "Night," I wore a long drapery of black tarlatan, set with silver stars, and a black silk gown that trailed. My long black hair was loose, the tarlatan veil was fastened on my forehead with a silver ornament, and my black domino was edged with stars." Anna Botsford Comstock, *Comstocks of Cornell: Biography and Autobiography of John Henry Comstock and Anna Botsford Comstock*, ed. Ruby Green Bell Smith and Glenn W. Herrick, Glenn W. (New York: Comstock Publishing Associates, 1953), 84.

²⁹ Wordsworth, William, and Ernest De Selincourt. *The Prelude; Or, Growth of a Poet's Mind*. London, New York and Toronto: Oxford UP, 1949. Print. Originally written in 1805 by the author: "Oh there is blessing in this gentle breeze/That blows from the green fields and from the clouds/And from the sky: it beats against my cheek, /And seems half-conscious of the joy it gives." (*Prelude*, opening stanza, p1). See also William Wordsworth, "Guide to the Lakes (1835)," April 1, 2015, https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/guide_lakes/editions.2015.guide_lakes.1835.html.

³⁰ "Lowell was an author, poet, editor, teacher, and diplomat. He edited *The Atlantic Monthly* (1857-1861), and with Charles Eliot Norton, *The North American Review* (1864-); was professor of French and Spanish Languages and Literatures at Harvard (1855-1886) succeeding Longfellow; and U.S. minister to Spain (1877-1880) and to England (1880-1885)." James Russell Lowell Miscellaneous Compositions, 1848-1891 (MS Am 1236.2). Houghton Library, Harvard University. Also see reference: James Russell Lowell," *Wikipedia*, September 3, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=James_Russell_Lowell&oldid=737520086.

³¹ "...won't you please tell us the very worst sin you ever were guilty of?" "Murdered little children for the corals on their necks," promptly responded Hilda." 'Comstock, *Confessions to a Heathen Idol*, 139.. This quote is from *The Bab's Ballads* 'Gentle Alice Brown', W. S. Gilbert, *The "Bab" Ballads: Much Sound and Little Sense.*, 5th ed. (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates, n.d.), 219.

³² Comstock and Comstock, *John Henry and Anna Botsford Comstock Papers*, n.d., Box 8. The autobiographical manuscript, that Mrs. Comstock finished in the last years of her life, is located here in the Rare & Manuscript Collection at Cornell University. -KSt.

³³ Birmingham, “‘*I See Dead People*’: *Archive, Crypt, and an Argument for the Researcher’s Sixth Sense*”; Barbara E. L’Eplattenier, “*An Argument for Archival Research Methods: Thinking Beyond Methodology*,” *College English* 72, no. 1 (2009). The articles referenced here have provided careful instruction to this researcher’s methodology and are highly recommended to the reader. -KSt.

³⁴ L’Eplattenier, “*An Argument for Archival Research Methods*,” 178.

³⁵ “Finding Materials | Rare and Manuscript Collections,” <https://rare.library.cornell.edu/services/find>.

³⁶ It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the underlying position that archives are responsible for in the maintenance of societal documentation. -KSt.

³⁷ Evan Fay Earle and Marcie Suzanne Farwell, Archival preservation discussion, December 5, 2016. Earle is the Dr. Peter J. Thaler '56 Cornell University Archivist and Farwell is the Technical Services Archivist at Cornell University.

³⁸ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, 2nd ed. (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2015), 48.

³⁹ The number of times an individual holding was accessed is not included in this information profile. For example, Box 8 of the Comstock papers (#21-23-25) was requested a *minimum* of three dozen times at the time of the writing of this dissertation. -KSt.

⁴⁰ Anna Botsford Comstock, “Structure of the Enteron of *Corydalus Cornutus*” 1885, <http://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/7075443>.

⁴¹ Julia Ellen Rogers, “Materials for Winter Work in Nature-Study” 1902, (Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts).

⁴² Ruby Green Bell Smith, “Evolution of the Venation in the Anal Area of the Wings of Insects” 1914, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, Cornell University (annex).

⁴³ Anna Botsford Comstock and John Henry Comstock, “John Henry and Anna Botsford Comstock Papers,” #21-23-25, Cornell University Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection.

⁴⁴ Cornell University Press, “Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records,” #35-6-257, Boxes 13-21, Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

⁴⁵ Cornell University, “Memorial Statements of Faculty,” ecommons.library.cornell.edu.

⁴⁶ Julian C. Smith, *Memorial Statements, Cornell University Faculty: Index for 1868-1990*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991).

⁴⁷ Earle and Farwell, Archival preservation discussion, December 5, 2016.

⁴⁸ “Mann Library | Cornell University Library,” <https://www.library.cornell.edu/libraries/mann>.

⁴⁹ Anna Botsford Comstock, *My Own Book of Three Flowers Which Blossom in April: [And Three Flowers Which Blossom in May]* (New York: American Book Co., 1904) QK49.C66 Undersize.

⁵⁰ There is no other example of this book on Cornell's campus. The reasoning behind its separation from the Comstock holdings at the RMC is unclear and a source of contention among the librarians as per informal conversations at both locales. -KSt.

⁵¹ "Library Annex | Cornell University Library," <https://www.library.cornell.edu/libraries/annex>.

⁵² Comstock, "Boys and Girls."

⁵³ Clara Keopka Trump, "Clara K. Trump Oral History, #13-6-2082. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library." (Ithaca, N.Y., October 28, 1986); Program in Oral History. Cornell University, "New York Agricultural Leaders Oral History Project" n.d., #13-6-428.

⁵⁴ Public Affairs Records Cornell University, "Deceased Alumni Files, 1868-2008," #41-2-877, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library., accessed October 10, 2016.

⁵⁵ Comstock and Comstock, "John Henry and Anna Botsford Comstock Papers," Box 8. The lost pages have a comparable chapter in the book *Comstocks of Cornell* is "Chapter 15: Cornell's New Quarters for Entomology and Nature Study" and is our only representation of Mrs. Comstock's point of view.

⁵⁶ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, chap. 15.

⁵⁸ Glenn W. Herrick, "Glenn Washington Herrick Papers," #21-23-844, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Box 12. The diaries researched span from 1917-1962.

⁵⁹ Grace Fordyce. Fox, "Grace Fordyce Fox Papers," Box 1, Folder 4, Grace Fordyce Fox Papers, #21-23-3574. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

⁶⁰ Mary Farrand (Rogers) Miller, *The Brook Book: A First Acquaintance with the Brook and Its Inhabitants through the Changing Year* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1902); Ada Eljiva Georgia, *A Manual of Weeds: With Descriptions of All the Most Pernicious and Troublesome Plants in the United States and Canada, Their Habits of Growth and Distribution, with Methods of Control* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914); Rogers, "Materials for Winter Work in Nature-Study"; Ruby Green Bell Smith and Deane Malott, *The People's Colleges: A History of the New York State Extension Service in Cornell University and the State, 1876-1948* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1949).

⁶¹ Program in Oral History. Cornell University, "New York Agricultural Leaders Oral History Project, #13-6-428. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library." February 1, 1963, interview.

⁶² Terry Cook, ed., *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions. Essays in Honor of Helen Willa Samuels* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), 363–79. Specifically, Randall C. Jimerson's essay "How Archivists Control the Past" discussing a direct connection between archival documentation over the social and political influences as correlated by Helen Willa Samuels, "Who Controls the Past," *The American Archivist* 49, no. 2 (1986): 109–24. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to enter into this discussion, however, the finer points that "authenticated records construct truth claims about the past" (Jimerson, 366) does bear relevance to this dissertation project.

⁶³ Evan Fay Earle and Marcie Suzanne Farwell, Archival preservation discussion, December 5, 2016; Terry Cook and Helen Willa. A2 - PY - 2011 Samuels, *Controlling the Past : Documenting Society and Institutions : Essays in Honor of Helen Willa Samuels* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists),

accessed January 11, 2017, <http://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/7163722>; Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg, *Processing the Past : Contesting Authority in History and the Archives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Frank. Boles, *Selecting & Appraising Archives & Manuscripts* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2005), <http://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/5597241>; Randall C. Jimerson, "Values and Ethics," *Journal of Information Ethics* 22, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 21–45..

⁶⁴ "...I pay a great deal of attention to who is writing, what is agenda might be, who his audience is, and - especially -- what he omits. What does it tell us that Caesar mentions Cleopatra only once in his memoir, and never mentions the child he has with her? How come Cicero cannot even bring himself to mention her by name? Why, in the wake of Salem, does everyone go silent, and how does that summer disappear completely from a comprehensive set of sermons by an eminent Boston minister? So yes, in short, I think suppression is common. And then of course there is Vera, who tried to erase herself from the picture." Email exchange with Pulitzer Prize winning and best-selling author, Stacy Schiff, August 6, 2016.

⁶⁵ See also: Birmingham, "'I See Dead People': Archive, Crypt, and an Argument for the Researcher's Sixth Sense."

⁶⁶ Please refer to Comstock's notable *Handbook of Nature* as a beginning-point in any investigation of her influence into these aforementioned disciplines: Comstock, *Handbook of Nature Study: For Teachers and Parents*. The handbook is in its twenty-fourth printing as of the date of this dissertation.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶⁹ Anna Botsford Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell: Biography and Autobiography of John Henry Comstock and Anna Botsford Comstock" (Ithaca, N. Y., unpublished), #21-25-27, Box 8, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection Cornell University.

⁷⁰ Glenn W. Herrick, Glenn Washington Herrick papers, interview by Gould Coleman, July 15, 1963, 21-23-844, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

⁷¹ Mary Rogers. Miller, "Mary Rogers Miller Letter" 1954, 2, K-107-C-2-B, Box 12, Mary Rogers Miller letter, #41\5m.264. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. "*The position of women at Cornell in the early days seems to me to have a solution in an anecdote about Professor Comstock. Dining at his fraternity house one evening he was regaled by a bitter young man who finally appealed to him. Looking the boy straight in the eye, but kindly, and with his charming bit of a stutter, Professor C. said "Wh-wh-why don't you g-go elsewhere?"*"

⁷² "*In the early days of entomology we had this case with a cork bottom and you would pin your insects in there. When you would arrange them according to the classification present, you might get that box full pinned to this cork bottom. Then suppose you got a new species or you got an additional species in your collection and wanted to put it in. How could you do it when it was already full of that family to which that insect belonged? You would have to take them all out, repin them in another both and put in the additions that you had found. So, Comstock invented a series of blocks - wooden blocks--balsa wood or white wood (I think). It was fairly soft. Those blocks were in series. Some of them were large. Some of them the next size and some of them the next size until they were blocks no wider than that [indicating about one inch] which would hold a single species. You could take those blocks out. (You can find those in the entomological department and see how they work.) Instead of having to take all of the insects which you had to put in a single corked area in the old days you had to take those all out to give you room to put in two or three more. It was an awful job.*" Glenn W. Herrick, Glenn Washington Herrick

papers, interview by Gould Coleman, July 15, 1963, 7–11, #21-23-844, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

⁷³ Program in Oral History. Cornell University, “New York Agricultural Leaders Oral History Project, #13-6-428. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.” J. Chester Bradley, 4. *“Comstock was away. One day as I was working at my desk in the North Laboratory on the third floor of White Hall (Entomology at that time was part of the Arts College) in came a little old man in his shirt sleeves and went over and jumped up onto a table near where I was and pulled down a window and then jumped down again. I thought he was the janitor who had come in. He stood behind me for a few moments looking at what I was doing. Then he said, ‘I’m Comstock.’”*

⁷⁴ John Henry Comstock received his Bachelor of Science degree from Cornell in 1874. It was the only collegiate degree he obtained. Anna Botsford Comstock did not refer to her husband as “professor” in her manuscript. Professor Comstock was called by his professional title after his promotion to Assistant Professor in December 1876. For further information see Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 51, 93; and Cornell University, *Cornell University Office of the Registrar’s Record, 1868-2008*, #36-1-630, Coursework 1874-1880, vol. 4, Cornell University Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection.

⁷⁵ Docie Willett was the daughter of family friends of the Botsfords in Otto, NY. Jennie Bartlett was a university friend of Anna Botsford. Bartlett suffered from tuberculosis and severed romantic ties with Comstock though she remained friends with both Professor and Mrs. Comstock in later years. Professor Comstock’s treatise on spiders, entitled “Jottings,” was written to entertain Bartlett during her convalescence in Florida (in 1875) and served as a template for Comstock’s later book, *The Spider Book* (Doubleday, Page & Company, 1912). See also John Henry Comstock, *Jottings* (Ithaca, N. Y.: unpublished, 1876), #21-23-25, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. See also Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 86–88.

⁷⁶ Comstock, “The Comstocks of Cornell,” unpublished, 4-48 to 4-49.” *That summer was, to say the least, emotional. Will Berry and I had arrived at a stage in our relations that made a consultation with our parents desirable. On our way home I stopped at Forestville and met his father and mother and two sisters -- excellent and interesting people. A little later Will came to Otto and visited my parents and our engagement was approved by both families. Alas! It was one of those affairs that in less than a year fell by its own weight. It was too emotional to meet the realities of life. I went with him to his senior ball in 1876 just to prove that there was nothing left of our tempestuous relations, and that night we bade each other a calm good-bye. I saw him only once afterward - when he called on us after I was married. He had a brilliant career as a newspaper man, working for several years on the New York Sun, then the Mecca of newspaper men. But he was too high-strung for the demands upon him. His brain snapped and an asylum shrouded his last years, a sad ending for a beginning so promising.”*

⁷⁷ Trump, “Clara K. Trump Oral History, #13-6-2082. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library,” 35.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 28. Trump continues the reminiscence: “Honestly, I just loved to watch them. I thought, ‘If I ever get married I want to have that kind of relationship,’ and I did.”

⁷⁹ Herrick, Glenn Washington Herrick papers, 10.

⁸⁰ Comstock, “The Comstocks of Cornell,” unpublished, 5–8. “I remember clearly his personal peculiarities in those days. He was very active and moved with a rapidity that gave the observer a breathless sensation. A cousin asked me sotto voce after observing him cross the room, ‘Anna, does he ever strike fire?’ He was much unconsciously restless, even when he sat reading he moved constantly, and as I was to discover later, much to the detriment of his trousers.”

⁸¹ Ibid., (unpublished) 5–12.”Mr. Comstock had tied a hammock for me, an accomplishment he learned at Vassar, and this was hung in my sanctum; in it he rested and recuperated and practiced his breathing exercises during the remainder of the summer. Meanwhile I was taking up the study of entomology along many lines and was making pen drawings of insects for my lover's approval. I was also painting pictures in oil, or copying those that I liked, with the idea of ornamenting our future home.”

⁸² Ibid., 5-23 to 5-24.”An incident which taught me facts about pies and, also about my husband, occurred during those early weeks of housekeeping. I had never mastered the art of making just enough pastry for one pie and the day I made cranberry pies, which had no upper crust, I had so much dough on hand that I had made three pies. Now since there were only two of us for dinner, it seemed that I had enough dessert on hand to last nine days; however, on the third day my new husband mutinied and declared he would eat no more pie. I maintained that we would just have to use it because we could not waste as much as that, at which he took the offending pies and threw them into the garbage, *as act which I remember both shocked and scandalized my frugal self. I find that I wrote my mother soon after this: "I get along with the cooking; I have not had bad luck with anything yet, except with some turnips that were so very strong of turnip that Harry feared the finished product might prove intoxicating."*

Another incident of these first weeks taught me a lesson that has been of great help in solving my servant problems. I had been invited to an afternoon tea at the home of Mrs. Prentiss. The Prentisses had been married that summer also and built a beautiful home on the campus. I had worked hard all the morning and thought I had my house in order when I went out. Mrs. Prentiss, a woman older than myself and of much experience was an exquisite housekeeper; she had furnished her home most tastefully and with the aid of two maids, kept it in beautiful order. I admired vastly the daintiness of the appointments in her home; when I came back to our house and opened the front door, I discovered that I had forgotten to dust the stairs before I went, and the sight of them was too much for me. I sat down on the lower step and wept from sheer discouragement. I took the lesson to heart that a housekeeper may try her best and yet fail to do everything just as it should be done, and during the rest of my life my maids were dealt with considerably in consequence. In fact, that year of housekeeping taught me how to deal with the human hazard in housework and to it I largely owe the fact that people who have worked for me have always cheerfully done their best.

⁸³ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, chap. 6 and 7. The first three chapters in the book, as well as these two noted here are almost identical, with minor editing, in the manuscript. The information is a good reference for the Comstocks' early life together. -KSt.

⁸⁴ Comstock, “The Comstocks of Cornell,” unpublished, 7–42. “On November 1st, the first part of the textbook, *An Introduction to Entomology*, was published. When finally, the book appeared, we both experienced the slump common to authors and artists at such times. We felt discouraged and thought the volume...”

⁸⁵ Ibid., 7–43. The statement in the above footnote (lxxiv) was literally cut away from the manuscript and replaced with the following notation from Herrick: *The first part of the textbook An Introduction to Entomology* was published on November 1 [1888]. When the book appeared we both felt the depression common to authors and artists at such times. We were almost discouraged, for the book did not seem to amount to much after all our labor. But when letters began to come from entomologists expressing their appreciation of it we felt more cheerful. Mr. Comstock sold fifteen copies in the first week and that seemed to augur well for the future.*

**"An Introduction to Entomology. By John Henry Comstock. With many original illustrations drawn and engraved by Anna Botsford Comstock. 1888." This book of 234 pages, bound in paper, treated of only eight of the twenty-five orders of insects that Professor Comstock described*

in his much later and more elaborate *Introduction to Entomology* (1924). There was no second edition of the paper-covered book. Instead of completing it with a discussion of the remaining orders of insects the Comstocks planned and in 1895 published an entirely new book, *A Manual for the Study of Insects*. -Editor."

⁸⁶ This is Manuscript file-folder 8-12., and "Chapter VIII" in the Manuscript.-KSt.

⁸⁷ In another example, in the book *Comstocks of Cornell*, "Chapter 14: 1907-1908 Sabbatic Year Abroad," is six pages in length where the comparable Chapter XII in the Manuscript is forty-four typed pages. Large sections from 1907-1912 are missing from the book because of this omission. -KSt.

⁸⁸ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, chap. XIV. In a note, hand-written by Glenn Herrick, inserted into Manuscript File Folder 8-17: "Chapter XIV I cannot account for it."

⁸⁹ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 227-35. Note the lesser number of pages in this rendition of ABC's account. -KSt.

⁹⁰ Dora Eleanor Worbs, "The Present Use and Distribution of the Cornell Rural School Leaflet" (Cornell University, 1958), 19-20, Thesis 1958 W919, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. "Early in 1894, S. F. Nixon, assemblyman from Chautauqua County, obtained a State grant of \$16,000 of which half was to be used by the Experiment Station for work in sixteen Western New York counties. This work was primarily horticultural until 1896 when, through the joint efforts of Mr. Nixon and the Committee for the Promotion of Agriculture, the State grant included \$8000 to be used by the College of Agriculture in part at least for the teaching of nature study in the rural schools of New York. This Committee had been formed by the Association for the Improvement of the Poor of New York City to study the causes of the agricultural ills of the State and to propose remedies. Because of his experience with Farmers' Institutes, George T. Powell was made Director of the Department of Agricultural Education of the Committee. Experience with the farmers had shown Mr. Powell that work with adults did not result in rapid changes. Therefore, he proposed that the Committee consider a long-range plan of improving agriculture by interesting rural children in farm life through nature study. He and Mrs. Comstock demonstrated the teaching of nature study in the schools of Westchester county and convinced the Committee of the value of such work. Mr. Nixon, then Chairman of the Ways and means Committee of the Assembly, was invited to the next meeting of the Committee for the Promotion of Agriculture to discuss means of financing the work. The Agricultural Faculty at Cornell assumed responsibility for this phase of extension work with characteristic promptness. Professor Roberts appointed Professor J. G. Stone, Mrs. Comstock, and Mr. John Spencer, a Chautauqua County farmer, to determine whether nature study was being taught anywhere in the schools. Visits to many rural and village schools showed that nothing pertaining to nature was then being taught, but personal contacts with children and teachers indicated that such work would be well-received."

⁹¹ State of New York Department of Agriculture, *Cornell Nature-Study Leaflets*, 80 leaflets vols. (Albany, N. Y.: J. B. Lyon Company, Printers, 1904). *Nature-Study Quarterly* started in 1896 followed by the *Teacher Leaflets* from 1897-1901; after the first 13 leaflets the publication was called a "Quarterly." The *Teacher Leaflets* ceased publication in 1901, the focus turned to the *Home Nature-Study* courses (established in 1899) and to the **Junior Naturalist Club**. These two clubs ran concurrently by both John Spencer and Alice McCloskey. He reached out to the children to organize them and she wrote the programs. The *Home Nature-Study* courses were taken over by Mary Rogers Miller until 1902 where Anna Botsford Comstock continued the program until 1911.-KSt.

⁹² E. Laurence Palmer, *Cornell Rural School Leaflet*, vol. XXXVIII, 1 (Ithaca, N. Y.: The New York State

College of Agriculture at Cornell University, 1944), 44.

⁹³ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953. Ada E. Georgia (p. 228), Alice McCloskey (p. 244), Mary Rogers Miller (p. 217), Julia E. Rogers (not mentioned), John Walton Spencer (p. 191, 195, 197), and Martha van Rensselaer mentioned more prominently than the previous three educators (p. 71, 195, 211, 244, 263). -KSt.

⁹⁴ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 10-8 to 10-9. "November 10, 1898 I received my appointment as Assistant Professor of Nature Study in Cornell University Extension. This was the first time a woman had been given the title of professor in Cornell University; and, although the title lapsed at the end of the period for which I was appointed, because of the objection of certain trustees to having women professors, yet the fact remains that President Schurman bestowed upon me this title. After the adverse decision of the Board of Trustees, I was appointed by President Schurman, Lecturer in Nature Study at the same salary, which I think was \$1200. This work of Nature Study propaganda had really engulfed my time by taking me hither and thither and upsetting my plans for drawing and engraving. So it seemed best to let other things go and to take up the nature work in earnest. I was especially glad to do this *since Professor Roberts had put all this work under the direction of L. H. Bailey, then whom there was never a more helpful and inspiring man. During the summer of 1899 and 1900 we had a Nature Study School at Ithaca.* We accepted only 100 pupils. Two days I gave them instruction in insect life, consisting of lectures, and field and laboratory work. Two days a week they were given plant study under Professor Bailey, and one day Professor Roberts gave them instruction in general agriculture. *The work was successful.* Glenn Herrick, who had taken postgraduate work at Cornell and Harvard and had been teaching two years in the State College of Mississippi, came to help me." Omissions from the book are italicized. -KSt.

⁹⁵ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 198–208.

⁹⁶ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 10-22 to 10-23.

⁹⁷ Grace Fordyce. Fox, "Grace Fordyce Fox Papers," Box 1, Folder 4, Grace Fordyce Fox Papers, #21-23-3574. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library., accessed October 7, 2016, <http://newcatalog.library.cornell.edu/catalog/6016136>; Zaidee Theall Mayo, "Zaidee Theall Mayo Papers, 1901-2011," rmc, K-122-A-2, 37-5-3902, Box 1, accessed October 27, 2014; Ruby Green Bell Smith, "Ruby Green Smith Papers, 1878-1960," #23-17-2141, Division of Rare and Manuscripts Collections, Cornell University Library., accessed October 20, 2016.

⁹⁸ Trump, "Clara K. Trump Oral History, #13-6-2082. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.," 31. *The status of women at Cornell University during Trump's undergraduate years was described being "in the air": "You were just treated as if you were inferior. And some of the Arts College people, I think, especially felt that way. That was not so true in the Ag College because women were such an important part on a farm. They had to do some of the hard work as well as the men did. But the wealthier people who could hire servants, just let servants do the work and women weren't so important except to bear children."*

⁹⁹ Liberty Hyde Bailey, "What Is Nature-Study?" *Cornell Nature-Study Leaflets*, Teachers' Leaflets, no. No. 6 (May 1, 1897): 16.

¹⁰⁰ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 10-4 to 10-4b. "When Mr. Nixon, large, pink-cheeked and earnest, stood before us, and listened to the proposal for interesting children in the farm, he answered: "Gentlemen, I would rather have considered some plan for immediate help to the farmer, but if you believe this will help in the future, you shall have the financial support of the state. How do you plan to administer the money when appropriated?" Mr. Hewitt answered quickly and decidedly, "We have an

efficient State College of Agriculture at Cornell, and the money should be given to it for this work." This decision was immediately ratified by the committee. As the outcome of these plans and decisions of the committee, and of Senator Nixon, the sum of \$8,000 was given in 1896 by the State to the Cornell College of Agriculture for teaching Nature Study in the rural schools of the State." (This manuscript statement is identical to page 190 in the CoC-book. -KSt.)

"It was a remarkable group and to its efforts to help the farmer we owe the Nature Study movement as carried on by Cornell, a movement that has affected the entire nation. I have always been grateful to the fates that, quite in their own mysterious way, made me a member of that committee for the promotion of Agriculture in New York State." (This manuscript statement, from the same pages noted above, was omitted from the book. It follows a description of the legislative group involved with the procurement of the funds in 1896 by Cornell to teach Nature Study in the rural schools of New York State. -KSt.)

¹⁰¹ E. Laurence Palmer, *Cornell Rural School Leaflet*, vol. XXXVIII, 1 (Ithaca, N. Y.: The New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University, 1944), 40.

¹⁰² John W. Spencer, "John W. Spencer Nature Study Papers" 1897-1912, rmc, anx, #21-24-238, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. In example: "I'm very desirous of securing them at once." -Geo. W. Twitmyer, *supt. Of schools Apr. 1898; Bethlehem, PA*; and "I would be very glad if every one of my teachers could have a copy of those letters [circular letters on Nature Study]." -E. Everett Poole *May 2, 1898, Lincklaen Center NY*. JWS also received letters as far away as from the state of Washington.

¹⁰³ Cornell University Press, "Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records," Box 11 unpublished. *Soils; Wireless Telegraphy; 'Drab and Magenta': Insects; Roof and Window gardening; Roller-top desk on the farm; Sunny Pete and Mrs. Pete = Squirrels; The Apprentice Class in Gardening out of door work; Elementary Gardens out of doors; Sowing a Seed; Plant Life; The Sargasso Sea; Autobiography of a Corn Stalk; Aristotle, the old wise woodchuck on Bell-Weather farm; How a candle burns; Fall Planting for Outdoor Growth; Plants that prepare lunches for their offspring; Seed dispersal; Perennials for the School Ground; A Bulb Garden; and How to Help Plants Grow*. Unpublished information from Spencer's notecards. -KSt.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. "What accomplishment do you most desire?"; "Identification of our most common trees"; "Story of 'Mus'ent Touch it'."; "Busy method versus Don't method"; "Soil is stone flour and organic matter mixed"; "Show children how sand made"; "Chemist definition water vapor water ice house"- from Spencer's notes for the Teachers Institute 1907.

¹⁰⁵ Spencer, "John W. Spencer Nature Study Papers," Box 11 unpublished.

¹⁰⁶ Cornell University Press, "Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records," Box 11 unpublished papers. "If you were to ask me what a thing may be worth, would it be a fair answer if I should say, that the measure of value is the fun we can get out of it? Perhaps pleasure is a more dignified word than fun. With this definition of value let me ask you which is worth the most -- a young apple tree, about as tall as a boy in the fifth grade and as big around as a buggy whip, or a ten-dollar watch. I fancy most if not all of you would say the watch." From a story, hand-written by Spencer, *The Apple Tree or Watch*.

¹⁰⁷ Bailey, "What Is Nature-Study?" 18. Bailey also states here that Spencer is responsible for the fruition of the children's garden movement in New York State largely because of the efforts of the children. -KSt.

¹⁰⁸ Spencer, "John W. Spencer Nature Study Papers." Paul Howe to Spencer, Prattsburgh, Stueben Co., NY, February 1899.

¹⁰⁹ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 191; E. Laurence Palmer, *Cornell Rural School Leaflet*, XXXVIII:42.

¹¹⁰ E. Laurence Palmer, *Cornell Rural School Leaflet*, XXXVIII:46. "At one time there were on file in the Ithaca office approximately 80,000 birthday dates of children identified with the work. For a while, birthday remembrances were sent by the college to these children."

¹¹¹ John W. Spencer, "John W. Spencer Nature Study Papers" 1912-1897, Box 3, #21-24-238, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Example of extension education papers requested in 1898 from the Iowa Extension: "What is Nature Study," "Hints on Making Collections of Insects," "A Children's Garden," and "The Leaves and Acorns of Our Common Oaks."

¹¹² John W. Spencer, "John W. Spencer Nature Study Papers, 1897-1912" Box 2, rmc, anx, #21-24-238, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. In 1900, Liberty Hyde Bailey tapped van Rensselaer to help him organize the reading course for farmers' wives. ABC credits herself and Bailey for bringing Van Rensselaer to Cornell whereas other sources about Van Rensselaer also include Professor Comstock.

¹¹³ Cornell University Press, "Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records," Box 12 news clipping of unknown date and source.

¹¹⁴ Charlie Hawkins, "Charlie Hawkins Letter of 1903," May 21, 1903, #35-6-257 Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Stuart, VA; May 21, 1903

Dear Uncle John;

I will try to write you about things I can do with my toes. As you know, I have no hands. It will make you laugh to tell you of some things I can do with my toes. My big sister who is thirteen years old took me fishing. I cannot walk but she rolled me in a go-cart which nearly broke down with me before she reached the river with me.

I caught six fish with my toes. I am out of doors from morning until night making slides with hammer and nails. When my mother is sewing, and wants a needle threaded quickly, I can threat it for her. When I want water to drink, I take a cup and get it for myself. I will not make my story any longer as my sister has to do the writing. I have never been to school long enough to learn to write it hope to be able to write you a nice little letter with my toes someday.

Yours in sunshine,

Charlie Hawkins

¹¹⁵ Cornell University Press, "Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records," Box 10 unpublished. *"The Boy Who Does Things with His Toes: "Charlie is a dear, brave boy! His sunny spirit is] worth more than any number of hands. Mrs. Comstock says, "Tell Charlie I love him already." Uncle John loves him too, and thinks he is a real little hero. When Mrs. Comstock was in Antwerp, Belgium, she saw a man who painted pictures with his toes, as he never had any hands. He was in the picture gallery every day and she used to watch him and wish she could paint as well with her hands as he did with his toes. Uncle John expects to hear that Charlie is doing wonderful things someday. The best thing he can ever hear though, will be that Charlie is still choosing "Life's sunny*

side." An undated piece found in this archive holding. It is a response to Charlie Hawkins' letter from Spencer.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. Letter to a Mrs. E. A. [Dora] Tuttle, Ithaca NY, Sept 1903: "...I would urge first, to keep the children busy. Give them something to do and then inspire them. Let them largely do things in their own way, only see their way leads in the right direction. Many a child is discouraged and sometimes disgruntled by being forced to live in an atmosphere of don'ts."

¹¹⁷ Ibid., Box 12 unpublished. *"In teaching children in gardening I would divide the instruction into three division: viz., Apprentice Gardening, Journeyman Gardening, Master Gardening. The purpose of this article is to give instruction to teachers that they may help the children in the lower grades to begin a familiarity--an acquaintance--with the growth of plants."*

¹¹⁸ Spencer, "John W. Spencer Nature Study Papers," Box 12 unpublished. *"If you will supply your pupils with enthusiasm, we will take care of the science side."*

¹¹⁹ Cornell University Press, *Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records*, #35-6-257. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library., Box 11 undated pieces. *"BEWARE of the ignorance of the educated in plans for the benefit of the plain people."* - quote by John Walton Spencer.

¹²⁰ Ibid., Box 12, Folder 3, unpublished.

¹²¹ "E. Laurence Palmer Archives: 13-6-428," February 1, 1963, 72-73.

¹²² Caroline M. Percival, *Martha van Rensselaer* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Alumnae Association of the New York State College of Home Economics at Cornell University, 1956), 7-8. *"In 1901 she began to edit and publish a little periodical call Boys and Girls, the official organ of the Chautauqua Junior Naturalist Club. Sold for fifty cents per year, it contained short stories, articles, poems, and illustrations that appealed to children and that gave them some knowledge of nature. After two or three years, however, Miss Van Rensselaer had to give it up. She had not the necessary time to give to it herself, and neither the money nor the trained workers to carry it on."*

¹²³ Comstock, "Boys and Girls." *"Its writers are already well known wherever Nature-Study is known. They are the same people who have made this work at Cornell a success:*

"The Editor is Mrs. Anna Botsford Comstock, of Cornell University. Mrs. Comstock will each month tell the story of some plant and some animal. These stories will present the subject in such a way that the readers will want to observe for themselves the life-history of the plant or animal to find out more about it. It will help them to be observers.

"John W. Spencer, who is "Uncle John" to thousands of children in New York state, will be "Uncle John" to all readers of BOYS AND GIRLS. His talks and friendly advice will be about gardening and making more beautify school- and home-grounds as well as the many phases of civic improvement.

"Miss Martha Van Rensselaer will have the charge of the "Junior Home-Makers' Club," and will, by making work play, interest children in domestic science. Children's letter and replies to them will have special attention.

"Its Cost. It is the wish of the publishers to put the magazine within reach of every boy and girl in the land. The price is fifty cents for yearly subscriptions. Address, THE STEPHENS PUBLISHING COMPANY, ITHACA, NEW YORK."

¹²⁴ Ibid., sec. Inner cover. "It's purpose is to interest children in the beautiful world about them. To help make more beautiful towns and cities by interesting the children in making more attractive their own home- and school-grounds. To make available to teachers and children in other states the work of those who have made Cornell University famous for its Nature-Study."

¹²⁵ Ibid., *Preliminary Prospectus*.

¹²⁶ Comstock, "Boys and Girls." "v. 1-6, v. 7, no. 1-6; Jan. 1903-July 1907. Caption title: Boys & girls, as naturalists, gardeners, home-makers, citizens. Official organ of the Chautauqua junior naturalist clubs, June 1904-Nov. 1905.

Editors: Jan.-Mar. 1903, Mrs. Anna B. Comstock. --Oct. 1903-July 1907, Martha Van Rensselaer."

¹²⁷ Frances Webb Michael Cook, "Core Historical Literature of Agriculture (CHLA)," January 3, 2005. [What Happened to Freckles](#): March, 1904 (Volume 2, Number 3); [A Riddle! Who Can Guess It?](#): April, 1904 (Volume 2, Number 4); [Required Reading for Chautauqua Junior Naturalists](#): November, 1904 (Volume 3, Number 3); [Required Reading for Chautauqua Junior Naturalists](#): December, 1904 (Volume 3, Number 4); [Bird Houses](#): May, 1905 (Volume 4, Number 5); [For Chautauqua Junior Naturalists](#): May, 1905 (Volume 4, Number 5); June, 1905 (Volume 4, Number 6); December, 1905 (Volume 5, Number 4); [Winter Birds](#): January, 1906 (Volume 6, Number 1); [Carrots in the Schoolroom](#): January, 1907 (Volume 7, Number 1); [Cats](#): January, 1907 (Volume 7, Number 1); [The Brook and the Brookside](#): May, 1907 (Volume 7, Number 5).

¹²⁸ Mary Rogers Miller, "Woodland Flowers in Spring," *Boys and Girls*, April 1904.

¹²⁹ Julia Ellen Rogers, "A Winter Landscape," *Boys and Girls*, February 1904.

¹³⁰ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 191,195,197.

¹³¹ Cornell University Press, "Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records," Box 12 unpublished. "Parents and Teachers: The busy child is a happy child and the easiest to control. That you know. Examine PETS AND ANIMALS and see how we provide profitable busy work. A child can be busy in doing things both education and practical. He can find more pleasure in making a flower bed than in making mud pies. PETS AND ANIMALS has secured a corps of writers who have the power to lead children to do practical things and think it play. We want PETS AND ANIMAL to have the distinction in juvenile journalism of making conspicuous the principle of leading children to find pleasure of work. Besides finding delightful revelations in the common things about us--Nature Study it is called--we wish to lead children into home garden work and improvement of school grounds. Perhaps we might dignify the latter by calling it Junior Civic Improvement.... This work will be given in a way that will both inspire and instruct the child. We anticipate that many adults will find the pages of PETS AND ANIMALS advantageous reading."

¹³² Charles E. Merrill Co, "Uncle John letter of 1910," April 10m 1910, #35-6-257 Cornell University Press and Comstock Publishing Company Records. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. "The publication of an elementary book by you on nature study certainly seems to be beset with many difficulties. You know how keenly interested I was in the matter when I first proposed it to you several years ago, and how our minds at that time seemed to fail to meet. I then had a feeling that you had in mind and could embody in book form the ideas that we were trying to inculcate in the rising generation with respect to a love for nature and how to show it. ... The few pages which you submitted were hardly enough to form a just idea of the scope and character of the book as a whole. I looked for more suggestions, but, as you will see, there is none bearing directly on the subject. I like your heart-to-heart, or head-to-head, method of addressing your reader, but fear that from a publisher point of view it

is a little too discursive. I have talked the matter over with my former associates, and they feel that the sample you sent is hardly enough to justify an opinion. Moreover, they think that in all the circumstances they could not publish the book as advantageously to you and themselves as could a publisher like Macmillan & Co. or Doubleday, Page & Co., of this city, who have kindred books that attract buyers for such a work as you seem to have projected.” [excerpt] Note: the signature on the letter is illegible, and there is no name indicated in the letterhead. -KSt.

¹³³ Comstock, *Handbook of Nature Study: For Teachers and Parents*, Dedication. “To LIBERTY HYDE BAILEY under whose wise, staunch and inspiring leadership the nature-study work at Cornell University has been accomplished and to my co-worker JOHN WALTON SPENCER whose courage, resourcefulness and untiring zeal were potent factors in the success of the cause. THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED.”

¹³⁴ Clara Keopka Trump, “From Mrs. Comstock’s Secretary,” *Cornell Alumni News*, April 1, 1954.

¹³⁵ Comstock, “The Comstocks of Cornell,” unpublished, 15–23.

¹³⁶ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 244.

¹³⁷ Cornell Alumnae Club of New York, “Alice G. McCloskey,” *Cornell Alumni News*, October 28, 1915. Ms. McCloskey came to Cornell in the fall of the year that ABC’s appointment as first woman Assistant Professor at Cornell, for the duration of the class in the term of the 1899 summer session, had lapsed. Comstock was then appointed as Lecturer of Nature Study. -KSt.

¹³⁸ E. Laurence Palmer, *Cornell Rural School Leaflet*, XXXVIII:43; “E. Laurence Palmer Archives: 13-6-428,” 63–66.

¹³⁹ Comstock, “The Comstocks of Cornell,” unpublished, 10–18. “Mr. John Spencer and Alice McCloskey were also there for the Junior Naturalist and gardening work. I saw Mr. Spencer give a practical lesson in gardening to kindergarten children and I marveled at this success and his charm for the little folk.” -an unpublished account from July 1900 at the Chautauqua Institute for Nature Study teaching. -KSt.

¹⁴⁰ Cornell University, Agricultural Experiment Station, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture (New York State) Dept. of Agriculture* (State of New York, Dept. of Agriculture, 1894-1911, 1902), xiii. Total cost of expenditures, as presented by E. L. Williams, treasurer, for the bulletins for fiscal year ending June 30, 1901 was \$13,500.00.

¹⁴¹ Cornell University, Agricultural Experiment Station, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture (New York State) Dept. of Agriculture* (State of New York, Dept. of Agriculture, 1894-1911, 1902), ix.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid., vii. The annual reports were part of the Agricultural Experiment Station of Cornell University, “in accordance with the Act of Congress of March 2, 1887, establishing the Station.”

¹⁴⁴ College of Agriculture and Experiment Station of Cornell University, *Cornell Nature-Study Quarterly*, ed. I. P. Roberts (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University, 1900), 220.

¹⁴⁵ Michael Cook, “Core Historical Literature of Agriculture (CHLA).” **What Happened to Freckles:** March, 1904 (Volume 2, Number 3); **A Riddle! Who Can Guess It?:** April, 1904 (Volume 2, Number 4); **Required Reading for Chautauqua Junior Naturalists:** November, 1904 (Volume 3, Number 3);

Required Reading for Chautauqua Junior Naturalists: December, 1904 (Volume 3, Number 4); **Bird Houses :** May, 1905 (Volume 4, Number 5); **For Chautauqua Junior Naturalists:** May, 1905 (Volume 4, Number 5); June, 1905 (Volume 4, Number 6); December, 1905 (Volume 5, Number 4); **Winter Birds:** January, 1906 (Volume 6, Number 1); **Carrots in the Schoolroom :** January, 1907 (Volume 7, Number 1); **Cats:** January, 1907 (Volume 7, Number 1); **The Brook and the Brookside:** May, 1907 (Volume 7, Number 5)

¹⁴⁶ In the 1902 "Preliminary Prospectus" of *Boys and Girls*, Comstock contributed an article entitled "The Shepherd's Purse. McCloskey contributed a similar article on "The Shepherd's Purse" three years' prior for the Junior-Naturalist Monthly, October 1899, v.1. -KSt.

¹⁴⁷ In her book *Teaching Children Science* (University of Chicago Press, 2010), Kohlstedt indicates that McCloskey "...spent much of her time editing Boys and Girls..." (p.92). I could not find any indication of this in my research. -KSt.

¹⁴⁸ Cornell Alumnae Club of New York, "Alice G. McCloskey."

¹⁴⁹ "E. Laurence Palmer Archives: 13-6-428," 63-66." *About that time there were some conflicts in the nature study field on campus between Miss Alice G. McCloskey and Mrs. Comstock. I think, to clearly and quickly dissolve that situation, we should recognize that they were a different breed of fish, that's all. Mrs. Comstock was a scholar in her own right. She had ability as an artist, as a scientist, and as a general teacher. She could walk in any society and command respect. She was one of the six most famous American women one year. She wouldn't believe that she was selected for that position. She was. Miss McCloskey, on the other hand, was a rural teacher with no degree, with no backing but with marvelous ability to hold the attention of people with simple things in poetry, in art, and things like that. She was a simple person. The both of them were in the same field and they were jealous of each other. That should never have existed. Liberty Hyde Bailey was the person that kept the two going. He recognized that each of those persons had something to contribute to the story. Mrs. Comstock couldn't begin to hold a crowd with poetry the way Miss McCloskey could. Miss McCloskey couldn't talk with a trained botanist or a trained zoologist any time at all without losing their respect and support. The two together made a very happy combination."*

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. "Miss McCloskey could break down the ice between me, a kid, and Bailey, a very prominent administrator."

¹⁵¹ Ibid. "During the years 1911, 1912, and 1913 and through there, I did a lot of identification with stuff that Miss McCloskey set down to the agricultural college to be identified... Tuttle and I were both in the same class as I said and I had been identifying plants for a year or so that came down from Miss McCloskey." Edward M. Tuttle '11 became McCloskey's assistant and handled her affairs in the last years of her life. -KSt.

¹⁵² Cornell Alumnae Club of New York and Professor Riverda H. Jordan, "'Cornell Trained Teachers Early: Professor Jordan Tells of Beginnings," *Cornell Alumni News*, November 14, 1940, 133;. George Allen Works (1877-1957), Assistant professor at Univ. of Minnesota (1913-1914). In 1915 Cornell University lured him away with a full professorship and to head the rural education division. At Cornell, Works continued to refine his skills in educational surveys and administration. Besides teaching, he directed the rural school survey of New York in 1921-1922 and the educational survey of Texas in 1923-1924. The latter effort formed the basis of his 1925 doctoral dissertation in education at Harvard, entitled "Distribution of State Aid in Texas." Because Works had become proficient in educational finance and scientific management, he was chosen in 1926 to become the first chair of the division of Education at

Cornell. Wayne A. Wiegand, *Supplement to the Dictionary of American Library Biography*, vol. 1 (Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited, Inc., 1990), 166.

¹⁵³ Department of Forestry New York State College of Agriculture, "Dept. of Forestry Records" (Box 2), #20-1-287 Cornell University Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection.

¹⁵⁴ "Miss A. G. McCloskey '08 Dies of Cirrhosis," *Cornell Sun*, October 19, 1915.

"Alice Gertrude McCloskey, A. B. '08 died at her residence on Cayuga Heights at 3:30 p.m. yesterday. Miss McCloskey was 45 years old, and during the past year has been quite ill. She spent the summer and part of the spring at Clifton Springs, and upon her return she was confined to the house. She died of cirrhosis of the liver.

"She was an assistant professor in Rural Education in the College of Agriculture, associated with Prof. G. A. Works. She was head of the department for several years, and taught during Summer School in the same department.

"The school gardens in Ithaca were started by her and for a time she was in complete charge of them. This work in the gardens among the high schools has been said by many to be one of the best studies ever taught in school, due to the practice work given during the instruction.

"The Rural School Leaflet was edited for many years by Miss McCloskey. This paper had a large circulation throughout the entire state and was sent to nearly every school in New York."

¹⁵⁵ New York State College of Agriculture and Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, *Report of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University, Ithaca, and of the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station*, vol. I (Albany: J. B. Lyon Company, Printers, 1917), xxiii." Miss Alice G. McCloskey died on October 19, 1915. Her principal work for the College was done as supervisor of the Cornell Rural School Leaflet, her main interest being in the betterment of rural school life. This effort has left a permanent impress on rural education, not only in this State, but also, by example, throughout the country."

¹⁵⁶ Cornell Alumnae Club of New York, "Alice G. McCloskey," 57. "Alice Gertrude McCloskey, assistant professor of rural education in the College of Agriculture, died on October 19 at her home on Cayuga Heights, after a long illness. Miss McCloskey was appointed assistant in nature study in 1899. At the same time, she registered as a student in the College of Arts and Sciences and in 1908 she received the degree of A.B. She was appointed in 1909 lecturer, and in 1911 associate in rural education, and was promoted to an assistant professorship in 1913. For many years, she edited the Rural School Leaflet."

¹⁵⁷ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 16–11 to 16–12 unpublished.

¹⁵⁸ E. Laurence Palmer, *Cornell Rural School Leaflet*, XXXVIII:45.

¹⁵⁹ Cornell University and Charles E. Palm, William J. Hamilton, Joseph D. Novak, "Memorial Statement of E. Laurence Palmer," 1970.

¹⁶⁰ E. Laurence Palmer, *Cornell Rural School Leaflet*, XXXVIII:50.

¹⁶¹ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 217. "Wilhelm Miller was a Cornellian and a writer, editor, and teacher of horticulture. His wife, Mary Rogers Miller, also a Cornellian and dear friend of the Comstocks, did much noteworthy work in nature study in New York State. – G.W.H."

¹⁶² Cornell Alumnae Club of New York, "Mary Rogers Miller: Biographical Sketch of a Candidate for Alumni Trustee," *Cornell Alumni News*, March 3, 1909.

¹⁶³ Miller, "Mary Rogers Miller Letter." "I chose to go to Cornell because there I could compete with all and sundry on a scholastic basis. I did not care for organizations which had segregation as a foundation principle. To study the facts of life in a biology laboratory with men and women working together matter-of-factly, seemed more important even than popularity as a dance partner. It was certainly far more important in formation of attitudes for later life."

¹⁶⁴ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 9-14 to 9-15. "Although Mr. Comstock and Glenn Herrick were alone in the house they managed to have some social life nearly every evening before time for work and study. A fire was built in the living room and George Burr came and read aloud for a time. Mr. Comstock sat next to Professor Kate Edwards of Wellesley at Sage dining hall, where Mary Rogers became one of his new acquaintances."

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 9-25 to 9-26." *The class this spring was the largest ever registered for the third term in entomology. Mr. Comstock writes: "I have had an awfully hard forenoon. The laboratory was full and I worked thoroughly and carefully with each student. I worked with them every minute from breakfast until lunch."*

¹⁶⁶ Mary Farrand Rogers, "The Structure of The Heart of the Larva of *Corydalis cornuta*" (Cornell University, 1896), Cornell University Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection (annex). Rogers' senior thesis with John Henry Comstock as her mentor and advisor. -KSt.

¹⁶⁷ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, p. 190; Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, p. 10-3. This appropriation was an expansion from the 1894 establishment of extension courses in horticulture with Cornell teachers in Chautauqua county of New York. -KSt.

¹⁶⁸ E. Laurence Palmer, *Cornell Rural School Leaflet*, XXXVIII:43.

¹⁶⁹ The following year, ABC was appointed Assistant Professor of Nature Study in the Cornell University Extension Division on November 10, 1898. This designation was rescinded in 1899 by the Board of Trustees. Comstock was then appointed Lecturer in Nature Study by Cornell President Gould Schurman (manuscript page 10-8). -KSt.

¹⁷⁰ Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "Nature, Not Books: Scientists and the Origins of the Nature-Study Movement in the 1890s," *Isis* 96, no. 3 (September 1, 2005): 347, "Women at Cornell earned considerably less than men and were paid minimum wages for their summer work: e.g., Comstock made \$150 in 1898 and Bailey \$350. With her lecturer's appointment in 1900, she began to earn \$1,200 for the academic year, as did Mary Rogers Miller, while Alice McCloskey earned half that. See salary discussions in *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees*, September 3, 1895– June 12, 1900, pp. 272, 394; and *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees*, June 20, 1900–June 13, 1905, pp. 10, 173, 424, 544: CUA."

¹⁷¹ Cornell Alumnae Club of New York, "Mary Rogers Miller: Biographical Sketch of a Candidate for Alumni Trustee."

¹⁷² Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 10–17. "The summer of 1897 I taught in the State Normal School at Chautauqua, and had for associates, Mary Rogers, one of Mr. Comstock's special students, also Mr. George T. Powell, who gave talks on agriculture and fruit-growing."

¹⁷³ Ibid., 10–23. "I had my mother with me for part of the time also. Another member of our household was Julia Rogers, sister to Mary Rogers Miller and later the author of the "Tree Book" of the Doubleday Nature Series."

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 10–10. "On June 8, 1899, we had a wedding at Fall Creek Cottage, Mary Rogers and William Miller. It was a pretty wedding with decorations of lemon lilies. William Miller assisted L. H. Bailey in writing *The Encyclopedia of Horticulture* and later, when Professor Bailey was editor of *Country Life in America*, he worked on that journal; and later still, was editor of the *Garden Magazine*. Mary Rogers Miller assisted in writing the *Nature Study* leaflets for Cornell and in the extension teaching. She was the author, later of "*The Brook Book*," a charming volume which she dedicated to Mr. Comstock."

¹⁷⁵ State of New York Department of Agriculture, *Cornell Nature-Study Leaflets*, 80 leaflet/vols. (Albany, N. Y.: J. B. Lyon Company, Printers, 1904). "Life in an Aquarium" (1898), "Insect Life of a Brook" (1900) [parallels Miller's 1896 thesis with John Henry Comstock], and "The Opening of a Cocoon" (1900).

¹⁷⁶ College of Agriculture and Experiment Station of Cornell University, *Cornell Nature-Study Quarterly*, 2. Anna Botsford Comstock and Alice G. McCloskey were not listed as Nature-study educators until the issues beginning in January 1900.-KSt.

¹⁷⁷ Miller, *The Brook Book*. "To JOHN HENRY COMSTOCK Guide, Philosopher and Friend ALL THAT IS WORTHY IN THIS BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED."

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. "Throughout the year a brook is captivating. It is as companionable as a child, and as changeful. It hints at mysteries. But does it tell secrets other than its own? Does it tell where the wild things come down to drink? Does it tell where the birds take their baths, or where the choicest wild flowers lurk? I fain would know the story of its playfellows and dependents. The brook has made its own way down the hill, through the woods and across the meadow. May we not follow it? Is it not a type of the best kind of human life? -- the steep hillside of youth, the wild dash, the splashing through and under and between difficulties, the firm, steady flow down the gradual slope of middle age, -- finally the safe and tranquil passing into the unknown? And yet, in spite of its mysteries, one may really know a brook. A river is too distant, -- too much an institution and too little an individual. A brook comes to play in one's yard. It is neighborly. It invites confidences. It reflects our smiles and our tears with the same calm surface. Nor is the brook always idle. The brook practical may typify a more useful life than the brook romantic. It may be both. So, too, may we. If the stream goes on merrily below the mill, may not we, too, do an honest day's work and keep moderately cheerful? I would that I might be like a mountain brook, never stagnant, never vanquished by obstacles. That I might do my task and be ready to play when it is finished. That I might hurry through all uncleanness, absorbing none. And that I might give myself to the future with perfect confidence and peace."

¹⁷⁹ Cornell Alumnae Club of New York, "Mary Rogers Miller: Biographical Sketch of a Candidate for Alumni Trustee."

¹⁸⁰ State of New York Department of Agriculture, *Cornell Nature-Study Leaflets*. "Mosquitoes" (1902), "About Crows" (1902), "Pruning" (1902), "The Life History of a Beet" (1903).

¹⁸¹ Cornell Alumnae Club of New York, "Mary Rogers Miller: Biographical Sketch of a Candidate for Alumni Trustee."

¹⁸² Edith M. Fox, "Edith M. Fox Papers," #13-6-1093. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. "Edith Mead Fox graduated from Cornell University in 1932 and received an M.A. in 1945. She served as Curator and Archivist of the Collection of Regional History and University Archives (later the Dept. of Manuscripts and University Archives) at Cornell University from 1945 to 1967. She died in 1986."

¹⁸³ Cornell Alumnae Club of New York, "Mary Rogers Miller: Biographical Sketch of a Candidate for Alumni Trustee."

¹⁸⁴ "Julia Ellen Rogers (1866 - 1958) - Find A Grave Memorial," accessed March 19, 2017, <https://image1.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Rogers&GSiman=1&GScty=571&GRid=15408483&>.

¹⁸⁵ Iowa State Horticultural Society, John Craig, and Julia E. Rogers, *Suggestive Outlines Bearing upon the Introduction of Nature Study into the Schools of the State / Authorised by the State Horticultural Society and Prepared by Members of the Faculty of the Iowa Agricultural College, Assisted by Julia E. Rogers* (Des Moines, Iowa: Iowa State Horticultural Society, 1890).

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 4. "I am pleased to offer the thoughts of an Iowa teacher who has had considerable experience in presenting to teachers and pupils various phases of the nature study movement; Miss Julia E. Rogers, of the East Des Moines High School, writes as follows: "The first question is a natural one: 'How shall teachers get ready to do this Nature work?' And then: 'Is there some book that we can get that has the subject written up for us?' How natural, habitual is this question! But I answer you, let the books alone for a while. Come out into the fields and woods. Drink in the spirit of the summer. Give yourself up to it. Let it reach you through all the avenues of your being."

¹⁸⁷ *The Ten-Year Book of Cornell University 1868-1908*, IV (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University, 1908).

¹⁸⁸ Julia Ellen Rogers, "Materials for Winter Work in Nature-Study" 1902, (Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts). The thesis is a hard-bound book of sixty-two pages, typed, and double-spaced. There are 6 photographs and 20 ink drawings. There is no dedication nor acknowledgement pages. The table of contents features eleven chapters. There is no section of conclusion. -KSt.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 3. "Boys and girls are not casual observers. They are keen and intelligent in the use of their eyes. They need but a hint as to the habitat of an insect. The more cunningly it is concealed, the more diligent will be the search that reveals its hiding place. Outsiders will help the school children."

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6-7. "It is not like reading a book, it is like watching the successive acts in a play. There is a fascination in such study. There is, along with the pleasure, a mental training in it that is of the highest value. It is true education."

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 3. "Boys and girls are not casual observers. They are keen and intelligent in the use of their eyes. They need but a hint as to the habitat of an insect. The more cunningly it is concealed, the more diligent will be the search that reveals its hiding place. Outsiders will help the school children."

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, chap. 2. "Sit down on the forest floor when autumn winds are blowing and examine the leaves that fall into your lap. Or gather a basketful in winter from the window along the fence, and look them over carefully when you reach home. You must then be deeply impressed with the record which insects have written upon them. "

¹⁹³ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 10-23. "I had my mother with me for part of the time also. Another member of our household was Julia Rogers, sister to Mary Rogers Miller, and later the author of the "Tree Book" of the Doubleday Nature Series."

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10-25.

¹⁹⁵ *The Ten-Year Book of Cornell University 1868-1908*.

¹⁹⁶ Comstock, "Boys and Girls." "Boys & girls, as naturalists, gardeners, home-makers, citizens."

¹⁹⁷ Julia Ellen Rogers, *Among Green Trees: A Guide to Pleasant and Profitable Acquaintance with Familiar Trees* (Chicago: A. W. Mumford, 1902); *Tree Book : A Popular Guide to a Knowledge of the Trees of North America and to Their Uses and Cultivation* by Julia Ellen Rogers (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1905); *Shell Book : A Popular Guide to a Knowledge of the Families of Living Mollusks, and an Aid to the Identification of Shells Native and Foreign* by Julia Ellen Rogers ; *Eight Plates in Colour, and Ninety-Six in Black-and-White Mostly from Photographs* by A.R (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1908); *Book of Useful Plants* by Julia Ellen Rogers. *Illustrated by Thirty-One Pages of Half-Tones from Photographs* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913); *Useful Plants Every Child Should Know* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913); *Tree Guide : Trees East of the Rockies* by Julia Ellen Rogers (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1916); *Canadian Trees Worth Knowing* (Toronto: The Musson Book Co., 1917); *Trees Worth Knowing* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1917); *Trees* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1926); National American Woman Suffrage Association, *Victory, How Women Won It: A Centennial Symposium, 1840-1940* (New York: The H.W. Wilson company). The first nine documents are accessible online at newcatalog.library.cornell.edu. The last document may be researched at the Cornell University Annex at JK1896. N3.

¹⁹⁸ *The Ten-Year Book of Cornell University IV 1868-1908*, vol. IV (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University, 1908).

¹⁹⁹ "Cornell Rural School Leaflet," vol. 14, 1-62 vols. 1, 3 (Ithaca, N. Y.: New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Dept. of Rural Education, 1921).

²⁰⁰ Laura Linke, Research conversation, 2017 2012, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

²⁰¹ Clara Keopka Trump, "Clara Keopka Trump Papers, 1909-1986" n.d., Box 1, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

²⁰² Georgia, *A Manual of Weeds*.

²⁰³ Ibid, Dedication. "To the revered memory of John Walton Spencer: My employer, teacher, and friend to whose first suggestion and encouragement the beginning of this book is due."

²⁰⁴ Georgia, *A Manual of Weeds*.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, sec. Preface: "Yet, when man interferes with the Great Mother's plans and insists that the crops shall be only such as may benefit and enrich himself, she seems to yield a willing obedience, and under his guidance does immensely better work than when uncontrolled. But Dame Nature is an "eye-servant"; only by the sternest determination and the most unrelaxing vigilance can her fellow-worker subdue the earth to his will and fulfill the destiny foreshadowed in that primal blessing, so sadly disguised and misnamed, when the first man was told, "Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat of the herb of the field." A stern decree. But the civilization of the peoples of the earth is measured by the forward state of their agriculture; and agriculture in its simplest terms is the compelling of the soil to yield only such products as shall conduce to the welfare of the people who live upon it. It resolves itself into a contest

with nature as to what plants shall be permitted to grow, and the discovery of the easiest, surest, and most economical means of securing a victory in the strife."

²⁰⁷ Ibid., sec. Preface.

²⁰⁸ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 228.

²⁰⁹ Anna Botsford Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell: Biography and Autobiography of John Henry Comstock and Anna Botsford Comstock" (Ithaca, N. Y., unpublished), 17-28, 17-29, 17-37, #21-25-27, Box 8, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection.

²¹⁰ Ibid, 17–37. "*On January 8th [1921] Miss Ada Georgia died. She was a remarkable character. She suffered hardships all her life and her indomitable spirit carried on despite them. She was a passionate lover of books, a keen observer of nature, and an indefatigable worker. She had been my greatly prized assistant in conducting the Home Nature Study Course for eight years. Her devotion to the work and loyalty to me had made her an important factor in my life and a valued friend.*"

²¹¹ E. Laurence Palmer, *Cornell Rural School Leaflet*, XXXVIII:48.

²¹² Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, chap. XIV. In a note, hand-written by Glenn Herrick, inserted into Manuscript File Folder 8-17: "*Chapter XIV I cannot account for it.*"

²¹³ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 228. "*My assistant, Miss Ada Georgia, had an adjoining room in which we kept files.*"

²¹⁴ Trump, "Clara K. Trump Oral History, #13-6-2082. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library,," 10.

²¹⁵ Clara Keopka Trump and Laurie K. Todd, "Clara Keopka Trump. Papers, #4266. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library." Spencer asked Keopka to leave school to help him at a rate of 15-cents an hour with transportation and dinner. She would be home at night. -KSt.

²¹⁶ Ibid. "*It comes from the bell-wether ram that leads the flock home.*"

²¹⁷ Trump, "Clara K. Trump Oral History, #13-6-2082. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library,," 10.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 11. "*Miss Georgia spent most of her weekly food money, when she was cook, she spent most of the food money on books. She was mad about second-hand books. That was all very well for her; it was very nice for me too because I enjoyed reading her books. And she enjoyed having me enjoy them. But on the weeks that she had spent all her share of money on books we oftentimes had to resort to eating fried oatmeal. We hated that! We skimped on the food on the weeks that she was cook.*"

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Trump, "From Mrs. Comstock's Secretary. "I am sure the recipients would forgive the duplicity, for the letters assuredly came from her heart, if not from her hand. So expert did I become that apparently only one person noted the difference. In fact, I have two copies of her *Handbook of Nature Study*, one inscribed with her genuine autograph, the other with my imitation; and I cannot tell which is which!" The

“one person” who recognized the difference in signatures was Mrs. Comstock’s best friend, Susanna Phelps Gage: “*Only Susan Phelps wondered what on earth had happened to Mrs. Comstock’s hand(writing).*” Trump, “Clara K. Trump Oral History, #13-6-2082. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.,” 29.

²²² Trump, “From Mrs. Comstock’s Secretary.” “*While dictating, she busied herself with little chores, like cleaning out desk or bureau drawers, taking necessary stitches in her clothes, painting slides, or just observing the antics of the pet turtle on her desk. One morning, I recall, while Mrs. Comstock was dictating [to her friends], she was down on her knees, skirts safely hoisted, scrubbing the upper porch floor. I used to hold my breath and make myself as inconspicuous as possible so as not to intrude myself on her as she communed with her friends.*”

²²³ Trump, “Clara K. Trump Oral History, #13-6-2082. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.,” 23. A bit farther on in the document page, Trump states that Mrs. Comstock would sometimes use rooms in the Insectary to teach before Roberts Hall was built. -KSt.

²²⁴ Ibid. “*I never saw her angry but I think sometimes she was hurt, especially at being treated as a woman was treated in those days. She was very modest and extremely kind.*”

²²⁵ Ibid., 34; For a perspective on the number of books Trump was limbering: In the June 30, 1935 inventory of books at Comstock Publishing, there were sixteen books listed. *Handbook of Nature Study* had the most copies on hand (9349) and only a little less than the total number of ALL of those combined (10,334). There were three times as many copies available for *Handbook* as there was copies for *Manual for the Study of Insects* (342). Simon Henry Gage, “Simon Henry Gage 480 Papers, 1880-1957.”, Box 12, 14-26-480, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

²²⁶ Trump and Todd, “Clara Keopka Trump. Papers, #4266. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.,” fol. 4.

²²⁷ Clara Keopka Trump, “Letter to Cornell Alumni News, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.,” May 26, 1986, #4266. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.; Ibid., Jun 3, 1986. The above promise made Trump decline an offer for a summer position working with former President White in his library in the summer of 1913. Mrs. Spencer sold her cherry orchard at the end of that season. It was a tremendous regret for Trump to give up the offer. -KSt.

²²⁸ Public Affairs Records Cornell University, “Deceased Alumni Files, 1868-2008,” #41-2-877, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library., Clara Keopka Trump.

²²⁹ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 266.

²³⁰ Ibid, 271.

²³¹ Jimerson, “How Archivists ‘Control the Past,’” 371. Jimerson also includes “*...as members of various social groups, and as a society.*”

²³² Trump, “From Mrs. Comstock’s Secretary.”

²³³ Trump and Todd, “Clara Keopka Trump. Papers, #4266. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.”

²³⁴ Trump, “Letter to Cornell Alumni News, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.,” April 22, 1986.

²³⁵ Cornell University, "Deceased Alumni Files, 1868-2008."

²³⁶ Trump and Todd, "Clara Keopka Trump. Papers, #4266. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library," fol. 5. "First Presbyterian Church of Westfield 1808-1968 --a history" and "A HISTORY OF WESTFIELD by Dorothy H. Curtis and Clara K. Trump"

²³⁷ Approximately two-hundred words each paragraph. -KSt.

²³⁸ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 229,234.

²³⁹ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, chap. XII (44 pages/ (7 pages in book), XIII (reconfigured to Chapter 16 in the book), XIV (unknown pages/ (8 pages in the book), XV (35 pages/ (7 pages in the book))(This was originally Manuscript-Chapter XVI, but this was crossed out and replaced to XV), XVII (55 pages/ (8 pages in the book) (This was originally Manuscript-Chapter XVIII, but this was crossed out and replaced to XVII), XVIII (47 pages/ (7 pages in the book))(This is the last chapter used from the Manuscript for the book. Two more omitted manuscript chapters remain (60 pages).-KSt.

²⁴⁰ E. Laurence Palmer, *Cornell Rural School Leaflet*, XXXVIII:31. Quote attributed to David Starr Jordan. -KSt.

²⁴¹ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 7-7.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 7-8.

²⁴³ Anna Botsford Comstock, "Structure of the Enteron of *Corydalis Cornutus*" 1885, Thesis 1885 18, Kroch Library Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

²⁴⁴ *The Ten-Year Book of Cornell University IV 1868-1908*. John Henry Comstock graduated eleven years earlier, in 1874, from Cornell with the same degree. -KSt.

²⁴⁵ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 149-89. During this interval, and included in the book, Mrs. Comstock ordered her wood carving tools and began lessons (1885), became inducted into the honorary society of Sigma Xi (1886), Mr. Comstock salary was raised to \$2,500 (1887), the Hatch Bill was passed establishing experiment stations at Land-grant Colleges in the United States (1887), the first part of the textbook, *An Introduction to Entomology*, was published (1888), work began with her husband on their book on the *Manual for the Study of Insects* (1892), and Mrs. Comstock attended the meeting with Senator S. F. Nixon, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the New York Legislature (1894) that would align her with the Nature-study work that would define her career for the next thirty-five years. The equivalent in the Manuscript is ninety-eight pages. -KSt.

²⁴⁶ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 8-23; *ibid.*, 9-10. "Alas! Clouds were coming in the Adams' skies that threatened to shut out all the sunshine. Mrs. Adams, charming personally, brilliant mentally and with many other good qualities, was evincing a jealous disposition. She was especially jealous of dear, good, staunch Grandma Adams, and was making her very unhappy. She was also doing queer things, like calling up Mr. Henry Sage in the middle of the night to confide her troubles to him, of all men. I felt that she was slightly demented and I did all in my power to smooth things over and keep her calm. She suddenly made up her mind to go to New York and entreated me to go along. I could ill spare the time but I went. The only comfort I got out of it was that Mr. Davis took me to the Grand Opera to hear Siegfried, and at his studio I met Emily Sartain, daughter of the eminent steel engraver." (8-23); "This spring [1892] we found the University restless and in more or less of a turmoil. President [Charles

Kendall] Adams had not been wholly successful in his policies and had clashed with the trustees. His lack of appreciation of the sciences had made him unpopular with the science professors. However, the idiosyncrasies of his second wife probably brought on the crisis, and he resigned as President of Cornell in May (1892) and Jacob Gould Schurman was elected to the position. Dr. Schurman had filled the chair established by Henry Sage in Moral Philosophy and it was Mr. Sage who elected him. There were many who desired Benjamin Ide Wheeler instead, and for some time we were uncertain which would be elected. Both have had long and successful careers as University Presidents. Both were eminent scholars before they were made executives and neither did much as a scholar afterwards. It remained for the early years of the 20th century to hammer home the lesson that a University President must be primarily an executive and that his presidential duties inevitable crowded out and starved his research work and his writing of books as well as his teaching. We were genuinely sorry for the trouble which had come to President Adams, especially to his mother, who was deeply grieved and hurt over her son's forced resignation. It was a pity that she did not live long enough to witness his success as President of Wisconsin University. His experience at Cornell had proved to be the making of him as presidential timber; and perhaps his brilliant, erratic wife had learned a lesson also." (9-10)

²⁴⁷ The Nineteen Hundred Cornellian Board, *The Cornellian* (Philadelphia: Chas. H. Elliot Co., 1899), 28, 40. Anna Comstock is listed on both pages as "Assistant in Nature Studies," John Spencer is only list on page 28 as "Conductor in Extension Work, and Mary Rogers Miller is listed on page 28 as "Assistant in Extension Work" and on page 40 as "Instructor in Nature Study." -KSt.

²⁴⁸ Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "Nature, Not Books: Scientists and the Origins of the Nature-Study Movement in the 1890s," *Isis* 96, no. 3 (September 1, 2005): 347. "Women at Cornell earned considerably less than men and were paid minimum wages for their summer work: e.g., Comstock made \$150 in 1898 and Bailey \$350. With her lecturer's appointment in 1900, she began to earn \$1,200 for the academic year, as did Mary Rogers Miller, while Alice McCloskey earned half that. See salary discussions in *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, September 3, 1895– June 12, 1900*, pp. 272, 394; and *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, June 20, 1900–June 13, 1905*, pp. 10, 173, 424, 544: CUA."

²⁴⁹ Trump and Todd, "Clara Keopka Trump. Papers, #4266. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library," fol. 4. Letter from May 25 to Cornell Alumni News editor, in part about the loss of the Spencer papers: "...Mrs. Comstock had the same idea of using the letters. She knew that a trunk full of letters written to him had been placed in the basement of a dormitory [women's]. Later, when I decided to take up what she had intended to do, I learned that a flood had caused all the papers in the basement to become a sodden mess and had to be thrown out. By an odd chance, it was my son Fred Trump, '49, who helped carry out and clean up the mess, in 1947, I believe, after his return from WWII. Uncle John's letters really served as an early advertisement to farm boys and girls across the state, and influenced them to turn to Cornell instead of other small, church-oriented colleges. Those pioneers of Cornell laid the corner-stone for its influence and deserve to be remembered."

²⁵⁰ Ruby Green Smith PHD '14, "Cornell's Educational Pioneers: The Comstocks of Cornell," *Cornell Alumni News*, June 15, 1945, 506. "The author's husband referred to it playfully, but proudly, as a 'desk book with a thousand pictures.'"

²⁵¹ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 229. "I believed that the book would pay for itself after several years; and I felt that I could not let all of the hard work I had done for teachers be lost. So, I went at my task with defiant courage."

²⁵² "E. Laurence Palmer Archives: 13-6-428," 138. In speaking of his and Comstock's nature writing philosophies, "...never keep things dated, put in things that are universally good. Robins are going to lay blue eggs in mud-lined nests long after you and I are gone. The incubation period is going to be the

same. People are going to be interested in robins, if there are any robins; therefore, there is going to be a market for selling those things. If you put in things that are dated, then your book is out-of-date the day it is printed. Then someone else comes along with another date and you are out of luck."

²⁵³ Comstock, *Handbook of Nature Study: For Teachers and Parents*, vii.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁵⁵ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 245.

²⁵⁶ Trump, "Clara K. Trump Oral History, #13-6-2082. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library," 23. "Todd: *Could you describe her work habits? Trump: Well, she and her husband were writing the story of his life and the story of Sigma Xi. They got up at four o'clock in the morning and he dictated to her -- or they worked together...*"

²⁵⁷ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 19-8 and 19-9.

²⁵⁸ Anna Botsford Comstock and John Henry Comstock, "John Henry and Anna Botsford Comstock Papers," Box 6, #21-23-25, Cornell University Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection.

²⁵⁹ George Lincoln Burr 1857-1938, "George Lincoln Burr Papers" n.d., Annex, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library., accessed July 19, 2016. "*For many months we had known of the heart trouble which might snatch her away at any time; but not till last spring, when she spent a week at Clifton Springs, did we learn (what, happily, we never needed to tell her) that she had also a cancer of the lung. The careful physical examination made there was reported confidentially to her physician, Dr. Bull, and he shared with only two or three of us its nature. We knew, of course, that the weakness of her heart ensured her early succumbing to the dread disease, and, thanks to the timely and skillful use of anesthetics, she was spared severe pain. She met her classes in the summer term til the end, though on the last day, August 15th, her students came to the house; and till three hours before the end she was fully herself. I have never known her brighter, despite pain and weakness, than the day before her going; and, when the final struggle came, she died, thanks to the anodynes, as one who falls asleep. To the end, too, she took only to her couch. True, her cough became continuous and her breath very short, and she undoubtedly suffered more than she ever let us know.*" Letter from Martin to Burr, September 30, 1930.

²⁶⁰ George Lincoln Burr 1857-1938, "George Lincoln Burr Papers," Annex, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

²⁶¹ Trump and Todd, "Clara Keopka Trump. Papers, #4266. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library."

²⁶² Glenn W. Herrick, "Glenn Washington Herrick Papers," Box 15, 21-23-844, Kroch Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University. "*Mrs. Comstock would write to me. We shall not look upon her like again. She was altogether lovely and "blessed us all." Her friendship was one of my most precious possessions, and one of my greatest joys of anticipation was the thought of seeing her and being with her again. Mr. Comstock will be very tenderly cared for, I know, and perhaps in his present condition does not realize his loss. If he understands will you give him my love and deepest sympathy.*" Letter to Herrick from Katherine F. Ceighton, Victoria, B. C., September 28, 1930.

²⁶³ Gage, "Simon Henry Gage 480 Papers, 1880-1957," Box 10 (1929). Comstock Publishing Company. Summarized Statement of business for the Fiscal Year, July 1929 to June 30, 1930.

²⁶⁴ Glenn W. Herrick, "Glenn Washington Herrick Papers," 21-23-844, Box 7A, Kroch Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University.

"Expenses of Comstock Household September 1, 1930 until JHC's death in March of 1931:

Caretakers: Eliza Northrup (\$12 per week) for seven months; Minnie Wetzel (\$35 per week) at two week intervals only for seven months; Harriet Turner and Lida A. Reynolds (\$28 per week) two week rotations; Stanley Schaefer (\$20 per week) came every week;

"Provisions for Table" for these people including 'cash for the house'

Laundry (every month)

Electricity, Gas, and Coal

Telephone

Oil for Furnace (and repairs)

Water and Ice

Medical supplies for JHC (nothing specific just company's items procured)

Miscellaneous: flowers in Sept and Oct and Nov; cigars in Sept, Reader's Digest subscript renewed until July 1931, mourning cards for JHC (March 28) 75-cents

Milk

Physicians (Dr. Bull)

Plumber and labor about the house and grounds

Taxes and Interest on Mortgage: federal income tax for JHC and ABC \$87.34

Money Spent Since Professor's Death for Apr, May, Jun, Jul, Aug"

²⁶⁵ Gage, "Simon Henry Gage 480 Papers, 1880-1957," Box 8 (1928). In 2016 dollars all three assets total: \$330, 576.28 (From <<http://www.dollartimes.com/inflation/inflation.php?amount=1&year=1930>>) – KSt.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., Half-Century of Comstock Publishing, unpublished manuscript, 91. This is equivalent to \$306,354.96 in 2016 with an annual inflation over this period of about 3.37% (accessed November 3, 2016 from website dollartimes.com). – KSt.

²⁶⁷ Gage, "Simon Henry Gage 480 Papers, 1880-1957."

²⁶⁸ This is based on side-by-side comparison of the book, to the manuscript, noting changes directly in the book, and the information contained in the Woodford Patterson letter to Simon Gage, July 19, 1938. (Gage, "Simon Henry Gage 480 Papers, 1880-1957," Box 11.) Patterson received twenty-chapters totaling 760 pages. In the Kroch Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library there are nineteen-chapters totaling 718 pages archived in the Comstock holdings #21-23-25. - KSt.

²⁶⁹ Clara Keopka Trump and Laurie K. Todd, "Clara Keopka Trump Oral History" (Ithaca, N.Y.), 23. "Well, she and her husband were writing the story of his life and the story of Sigma Xi. They got up at four o'clock in the morning and he dictated to her -- or they worked together, I don't know. It wasn't just a case of dictation. It was a case of her doing the art work, too."

²⁷⁰ Marginalia are marginal notes also seen in Comstock's *Confessions to a Heathen Idol* (1906).

²⁷¹ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 5–10. "About this time, he first made himself felt in the faculty. There was a rule that hazing should be punished by expulsion. In White Hall one evening a group of students, including some freshmen as well as graduates, planned to visit two freshmen in the

same building and have some fun. The freshmen met them with pokers by way of battle axes, and the visitors, like Riley's visiting baseball team, realizing that "they were not as welcome as they aimed to be," retired at once, as they had no thought of hazing or of any physical coercion. Mr. Comstock knew of the affair and was surprised to find that the freshmen had reported it to the faculty in such a fashion that the authorities called up sixteen men with the idea of expelling them all. He worked hard to give the sixteen fair representation and, after two long sessions, four were cleared and the others put on probation. This was a decided victory for the young professor and he remarked: "It seems as though many of the professors have forgotten their boyhood and cannot understand how young men feel and think." Description of incident with JHC as a young professor. -KSt.

²⁷² Ibid., 4-6, 4-18, 4-39, 4-62. "He hated slavery, but he also had a Northerner's prejudice against negroes {Sic.} and did not like contact with them. He thought the Government should have bought the slaves and freed them" [4-6. ABC of her father]. "I had many pleasures in life, and these were the more appreciated because they did not occur too often." [4-18 ABC of herself in childhood]. "I was too independent for one thing, and I did not appeal to the masculine taste." [4-39 ABC of herself before arriving at college]. "We were so gay and laughed so much that we were looked at askance by some representatives of dignity and decorum; but at that time America was a free country and we were Americans, so we laughed as we chose." [4-62 ABC of herself at dinner in Sage Hall at Cornell].

²⁷³ Ibid., 5-7, 8-16, 10-20. "C. V. Riley is really the only economic entomologist that I know of in this country, and he is already doing very well. I had a talk with Professor Russell a few days ago. He seemed to feel very sad at the thought of my leaving. His 'I don't want you to go' did me much good, for it is nice to know that one's work is appreciated by someone. Dr. Wilder does not think I will leave. He expects the trustees to do something as soon as they discover that I am likely to go. And if I should go, he thinks they would call me back in a short time." [5-7 JHC to Anna]. "George Emerson, who was now in Law School, at Cornell, with his youngest brother, Edwin Emerson, Jr., in the College of Arts and Sciences, were frequent guests of our household. They were two very different types of me. George was of the stable, dependable, responsible kind while Edwin, almost a genius, of most interesting personality, was brilliant but erratic. He was a lovable boy, and even I who knew him so well could not have prophesied his pyrotechnic career. He became a newspaper man, a 'rough rider' with Roosevelt in Cuba in the war with Spain, was arrested as a spy in Porto Rico and only saved by his assertion that he was German and could not speak or understand English; a revolutionist in Mexico; a newspaper correspondent in the Japanese-Russian war, where the Japanese held him prisoner and made him break wild horses for the army; and during the last war a subject for international bickering in Germany and a terrible thorn in the side of Mr. Gerard, our Ambassador to Germany before we entered the war." [8-16] "We had many students who were with us a great deal in the house. Margaret Schallenberger, who had come to Cornell to pursue special studies in psychology with Professor [Edward] Titchener and who afterwards did notable work in public education in California, was with a great deal. We also saw much of Margaret Washburn, Benjamin Duggar and Arch Gilbert." [10-20] See also the educators in the nature-study movement already described in Section I of this dissertation.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 5-26, 6-55. "There is no doubt that his lucid, terse style of scientific writing, which has won him so much praise, is the direct result of his difficulties in expressing himself in writing." [5-26] "Extracts from the letters of Mr. Comstock which he wrote me show well his way of taking reverses of his plans: '...following a phantom, although at times the road has been rough it has more often been a pleasant one; and while the principle object of my pursuit has vanished, I find that the prizes which I have picked up by the way are far greater in value than I had any reason to hope to obtain. I feel my personal disappointment but little.'" [6-55 ABC quoting letter from JHC. Pages missing with page 6-54 ending regarding letter excerpt. Page 6-55 begins in mid-quote and the section is heavily crossed out with pencil and blue china marker. Page 6-55 will continue with more quotes from the letter, then ends abruptly with "End of Chapter 6" written and circled at the bottom of the page. -KSt.]

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 6–21. ABC is speaking about Dr. Mary Walker. -KSt.

²⁷⁶ Blouin and Rosenberg, *Processing the Past*, 15, "The meaning of history itself emerged naturally from the authority of facts, which [speak] for themselves."

²⁷⁷ Burr, "George Lincoln Burr Papers"; Simon Henry Gage, "Simon Henry Gage 30 and 1469 Papers, 1880-1957" Kroch Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

²⁷⁸ Herrick, Glenn Washington Herrick papers, 1.

²⁷⁹ Herrick, Glenn Washington Herrick papers, 7 to 8.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 3. "L. H. Bailey was a great man in my opinion and I guess in the opinion of many others. He was an honest and kindly man. I never heard him criticize any person."

²⁸¹ Ibid., 7.

²⁸² Glenn W. Herrick, *Herrick's Text-Book in General Zoology* (American Book Company, 1907). "The aim has been to create an interest in nature, beget an acquaintance with the lives, habits, and activities of animals, train the powers of observation, quicken the judgement, widen the horizon of the environment, augment the capabilities for independent thinking, and inculcate an unswerving regard for the truth."

²⁸³ Cornell University, "Deceased Alumni Files, 1868-2008," "Mark Vernon Slingerland." Assistant in Entomology in Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station in 1890; assistant entomologist in the Cornell Experiment Station and Assistant Professor of Economic Entomology in Cornell University since 1899. Number of associations of Economic Entomologists; fellow in American Association for the Advancement of Science; member of Entomological Society of Washington; member of Holland Society of New York."-Ithaca Journal, March 11, 1909 obituary article in file.

²⁸⁴ American Association for the Advancement of Science, "The Retirement of Professor Glenn W. Herrick, of Cornell University," *Science* 82, no. 2114 (July 5, 1935): 6–6, doi:10.1126/science.82.2114.6-a.

²⁸⁵ Cornell University, "Deceased Alumni Files, 1868-2008," "Mark Vernon Slingerland."

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., "John Henry Comstock Memorial Statement."

²⁸⁸ Cornell University, Office of the Dean of the University Faculty, *Memorial Statements of the Cornell University Faculty 1950-1959*, vol. 3 (The contents of this volume are openly accessible online at ecommons.library.cornell.edu/handle/1813/17811, 2010), 182.

²⁸⁹ "What Is Limnology - International Society of Limnology (SIL)," *International Society of Limnology (SIL)*, <http://limnology.org/what-is-limnology/>. "The study of the biological, chemical, and physical features of lakes and other bodies of fresh water."

²⁹⁰ Cornell University, Office of the Dean of the University Faculty, *Memorial Statements of the Cornell University Faculty 1970-1979*, vol. 5 (The contents of this volume are openly accessible online at ecommons.library.cornell.edu/handle/1813/17843, 2010), 44.

²⁹¹ Cornell University, "Deceased Alumni Files, 1868-2008," "Mark Vernon Slingerland."

²⁹² Cornell University, "William,A2 - Bender, Ray,A3 - Beneway, Frank W.,A4 - Benjamin, Earl Whitney,A5 - Bradfield,Waldo,A18 - Herrick, Glenn W.A19 - Huttar, John C.,A20 - Jennings, Burton Aaron,A21 - King, Asa Carlton,A22 - Gibson, Anson Wright,A23 - Knapp, Halsey,A24 - LaMont, Thomas E.,A25 - Maynard, L. A.A26 - McConnell, James,A27 - Gervan, R. Bruce,A28 - Milliman, Thomas E.,A29 - Monroe, Benton Sullivan,A30 - Munger, Harlan B.,A31 - Myers, William Irving,A32 - Norton, Horace A.,A33 - Palmer, E. LaurenceA34 - Riley, Howard W.,A35 - Rodenhurst, Seymour K.A36 - Shapley, S. Reuben,A37 - Simons, L. R.A38 - Slack, Clarence M.,A39 - Smith, Paul,A40 - Stempfle, William Secord,A41 - Stiles, Jared W.,A42 - Tailby, George W.,A43 - Taylor, Clayton Charles,A44 - Thomson, Edward Herrmann,A45 - Thompson, Homer C.,A46 - Underwood, E. Victor,A47 - Wadsworth, Reverdy J.,A48 - Wadsworth, William P.,A49 - Wakely, Philip C.,A50 - Waldorf, William E.,A51 - Warren, Carl.A52 - Worthen, Edmund L.,A53 - Chandler, William Henry,A54 - Colman, Gould P.A55 - Levine, Jonathan.,A56 - Windahl, Ethan.,A57 - Dixon, Elizabeth L.,A58 - PY -,,"J. Chester Bradley," 18. *"Professor Herrick came into the Department to succeed Professor Slingerland while I was a graduate student. He came from Mississippi where he held a position teaching economic entomology. I never had much contact with his teaching but so far as I know it was good. He taught the elementary work. He was a very sincere individual, almost naïve, a very friendly individual. He carried on the teaching of economic entomology until his retirement..."*

²⁹³ Herrick, "Glenn Washington Herrick Papers," n.d., pt. "Correspondence, 1921-1963." In a letter to Comstocks' attorney, George "Jim" Russell, Herrick pleads for money and letter of character reference from Mrs. Comstock after being 'swindled out of 1000£ on a European trip (March 30, 1926). -KSt.

²⁹⁴ "Herrick, Glenn W. 1870-1965 (Glenn Washington) [World Cat Identities]," accessed August 20, 2016, <http://worldcat.org/identities/lccn-nr00014484/>. *"Inoculation of Soils"* in 3 editions published in 1900; *"Laboratory exercises in general zoology"* in 4 editions published between 1907 and 2010; *"The pecan case-bearer"* in 4 editions published in 1909; *"Some scale insects of Mississippi: with notes on certain species from Texas"* in 4 editions published in 1911; *"The cabbage aphid"* in 4 editions published between 1911 and 1912; *"The fruit-tree leaf roller"* in 6 editions published between 1912 and 1915; *"The foul brood of bees and the foul brood law"* in 3 editions in 1913; *"Insects injurious to the household and annoying to man"* in 16 editions published between 1914 and 2012; *"Insects of economic importance, outlines of lectures in economic entomology"* in 6 editions published between 1915 and 1920; *"The lesser migratory locust"* in 4 editions published in 1916; *"The apple maggot in New York"* in 5 editions published in 1920; *"The cabbage maggot: with special reference to its control"* in 5 editions published in 1922; *"Some shade-tree pests and their control"* in 4 editions published in 1931; *"Insect enemies of shade-trees"* in 4 editions published in 1935.

²⁹⁵ Cornell University and Office of the Dean of the University Faculty, "Herrick, Glenn Washington," 1965, <http://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/19056>.

²⁹⁶ Glenn W. (Glenn Washington) Herrick, Glenn Washington Herrick Papers, 1872-1963, Box 6. There are ninety-nine travel brochure pieces. There is also an undated copy of the sheet music 'My Louisiana', by Henri Wehrmann, printed by the New Orleans Association of Commerce.

²⁹⁷ Herrick, "Glenn Washington Herrick Papers," n.d., "Scientific Addresses." *"Concerning the Proposed Quarantine Against the Mediterranean Fruit Fly"* given by Herrick (1925?); *"Concerning Quarantine*

Against the Japanese Beetle" given by Herrick "at Washington Oct. 31, 1929"; "*Some Economic Aspects of Plant Quarantines*" given by Herrick "delivered at Minneapolis, Minnesota, July 19, 1930 Before the National Association of Nurserymen" [there are SIX copies of this talk, one of which looks like the first cobbled-together attempt]; "*Concerning the Removal of Federal Domestic Quarantine on the European Corn-Borer and Japanese Beetle and of the Certification of Narcissus Bulbs for Interstate Shipment*" given by Herrick March 10, 1932, but does not say where. "*The Economics of Insect Quarantines*" given by Herrick, no date. "*The Procession of Introduced Pests*" by Herrick, a typed document, two copies, two pages each, lists 29 pests from 1750-1927.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., Box 7A. Family Expense Book 1932: trip to Blowing Rock, NC. Herrick recorded details for going and coming back: gas, oil, lunch, dinner, waiter tip, bellboy tip, shoe repair, cigarettes, some oranges bought and honey, church donations, hair wash, cream cones. How much was unaccounted for and total expenses. Mileage on car meter from Ithaca to Blowing Rock, and every stop in between including the total mileage of the trip (1900 miles). -KSt.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., Box 12, 1956 Diary.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., Box 7B, 1955-1960 Diaries. In the 1950's he evolved to just recording 'water', 'sewer', 'gas', 'electric', 'flowers', 'haircut'. He continued his meticulous habits, sans handwriting, and would have pictures of the shoes, or refrigerator, he bought taped in the cover of a diary, and on the flipside, would be the Village and Sewer Taxes for 1951 for Ithaca paid-bill. -KSt.

³⁰¹ Ibid., Box 1: Correspondence. "*There is nothing spectacular in the period of my retirement, almost 20 years. As I now review it I find I have not accomplished what I had intended.*" Letter to Dave O. Thompson, Noblesville, Ind., no date, typewritten.

³⁰² Herrick, *Glenn Washington Herrick Papers, 1872-1963*, Box 1. October 25, 1938: traffic lights and signs; July 1, 1940: in support of Wendell Wilkie for president against FDR; September 11, 1940: against FDR transferring destroyers to Great Britain; May 29, 1941: factors in which American people fail to realize the revolutionary and tyrannical aims of Hitler.

³⁰³ Ibid, Box 1. "*Germany's Rise and Fall: Day by Day Story of the War*" (*Ithaca Journal*, 5/7/45, p.7) [after Germany surrendered]. Herrick saved the following entire section from 8/15/45 *Ithaca Journal* with such articles that drew his attention as: "*Nation Tackles New Tasks*," "*PEACE!*" also articles in this section on the Japanese truce, rationing food; and a gruesome article on the US Cruiser Indianapolis sunk with 883 men losing their lives after delivering the A-bomb in Guam. In 1946, Herrick kept the very large article "*Twelve of 22 Nazi Defendants Sentenced to Death*" (*Ithaca Journal*, 10/1/46, p. 8) of the Nuremburg Trial proceedings and conclusion.

³⁰⁴ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 5-5. "*It was during September that Mr. Simon H. Gage was called home by an epidemic of diphtheria in his family. His brother and the latter's five children died of this dread disease; later, Mr. Gage contracted it, and Mr. Comstock telegraphed him he would come and take care of him if necessary. Fortunately, his was a light case and this was unnecessary, but the incident shows the devotion of Mr. Comstock to this friend at the beginning of a friendship that was to bring happiness to both for half a century.*"

³⁰⁵ Cornell University Office of the Dean of the University Faculty, "Simon Henry Gage, B.S. (1851-1944)," 1944, "*The seventeenth edition appeared on his ninetieth birthday in 1941.*"

³⁰⁶ Office of the Dean of the University Faculty, "Simon Henry Gage, B.S. (1851-1944)." "*Gage was long a member of the American Society of Zoologists, one of the original members of the American*

Association of Anatomists, and a member of the first board of editors of the *American Journal of Anatomy*, which he assisted in establishing. He was also a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and twice presided over the meetings of its Zoological Section; a member of the New York State Science Teachers Association (President, 1896), American Microscopical Society (President, 1895-96, 1906), American Society of Naturalists, Royal Society of Arts, Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, American Fisheries Society, Optical Society of America, and the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis. “

³⁰⁷ Gage, “Simon Henry Gage 480 Papers, 1880-1957.” An unsent letter to Comstock Publishing Company board, October 8, 1928. -KSt.

³⁰⁸ Ibid. “Mrs. Anna Botsford Comstock, with her early education from rural schools entered into the nature study movement with a kind of holy zeal.”

³⁰⁹ Simon Henry Gage and Clara Starrett Gage, “A Half-Century of the Comstock Publishing Company; 1893-1943” (Ithaca, New York, Comstock Publishing Company, Inc 1944), 3, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University. “Each member shall receive full benefit of the sales of his books, after the expenses provided for above have been met, and will have no claim on the profits accruing from the sales of books by other members of the firm.”

³¹⁰ Ibid., 1. “The management of the Comstock Publishing Company underwent its second reorganization in 1928 and the entire management once more was vested in the responsible owners of the Company. In this reorganization, the presidency was retained for Professor Comstock, but Prof. Gage became acting president, Prof. Glenn W. Herrick was made vice-president, and Mrs. Comstock secretary. Mr. George H. Russell had been given power of attorney for Professor Comstock and was helpful in giving legal advice. For sales manager Mr. [William A.] Slingerland was continued, his remuneration for attending to sales, collections and general advertising as in the past was to be 20% of the sales.”

³¹¹ Julian C. Smith, *Memorial Statements, Cornell University Faculty: Index for 1868-1990*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: 1991). “[Burr’s] grasp of the general field of history was exceptional, his mastery of historical literature and of historical geography was such as few historians possess, and his knowledge of the special fields of Mediaeval history, the Protestant Reformation, and the history of witchcraft and religious persecution was unrivalled. Much of his time and energy as a scholar was devoted to labors that did not result in publication. As secretary to President White, he contributed so much to the preparation of *The Warfare of Science and Theology* that his name would have been on the title page if he had been willing. He was chiefly responsible for making the President White Library one of the richest collections in the world in the fields of the French Revolution, church history, and the history of witchcraft and persecution; and his marginal notes in the books of that library add substantially to its value for scholars.”

³¹² Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 228. “On January 31, 1909, a great sorrow came to us. The wife of our beloved Cornell Professor George Burr died in giving birth to a son, and the child died also. I cannot describe the effect of this calamity on our Cornell community. Professor Burr had led such a noble and unselfish life, in helping others, that he had not married while young. His wife, Dr. Mattie Martin, was a beautiful woman, very able, an excellent scholar, and endowed with a charming and inspiring personality; we had all rejoiced that the two had found each other, and were glad when we knew they expected a child, for George was passionately fond of children. He had too much spiritual strength to succumb to this blow, but we all knew what he was enduring. Soon after his return from the funeral in Virginia, he again took his place at our table, as a member of our family.” The excerpt from

Chapter XIV in the manuscript, which is missing from the collection, is where this recollection is written. -KSt.

³¹³ Simon Henry Gage, *The Microscope, 15th*, Ultra-violet ed. (15th) Revised and rewritten with a wholly new chapter on ultra-violet radiation in microscopy. (Ithaca, N.Y.: The Comstock Publishing Company, 1932); Simon Henry Gage, *The Microscope, 16th*, 16th, Revised and Enlarged by the Addition of a Chapter on Micro-Incineration ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Comstock Pub., 1936); Simon Henry Gage, *The Microscope, 17th* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Comstock publishing company, Inc., 1941), (unable to view) referred to at <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001490876>. Gage married Clara Covert Starrett, Ph.D. in 1933. Also, Gage's beloved sister, Mary Gage-Day, M.D. passed away from her injuries resulting from an automobile accident in March 1935. -KSt.

³¹⁴ Glenn W. Herrick, "Herrick to Gage Aug 1937," August 17, 1937, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ George Lincoln Burr, "Burr to Gage Jan 1938," January 3, 1938, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University.

³¹⁹ A copy of this *Preface*, with Herrick's notations, is in the Appendix of this dissertation. -KSt.

³²⁰ Glenn W. Herrick, "Herrick to Gage Jan 1938," January 26, 1938, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University. *"This preface seems to me to have struck just the right note, -not too strong nor too weak. The second paragraph is especially fine. I have penciled in one or two suggestions with which I am not satisfied and which I am not at all sure add anything to the wording. The last clause troubles me a bit. Is there danger of their old fiends expecting a copy gratis and waiting for it? Of course, it would be a fine and graceful thing for the C.P.Co. to honor the Comstocks by presenting a copy to each of their friends; but I am mercenary enough to desire the Co. to make some money on this book and I believe it could. Anyhow I am perfectly willing to trust your judgement in this matter. I am very glad you took the time and expended the thought to write the preface and it is eminently appropriate for you to do it."*

³²¹ Simon Henry Gage, "Gage to Burr," January 29, 1938, # 14-17-22 George Lincoln Burr papers, 1851-1942." *"Dear Brother Burr: I never feel quite satisfied when I want anything to be just right until you have put your o.k. on it. Thank you so much for going over so carefully the Preface to the Comstock Autobiography. When Clara and I read your version, we did not see why some of the changes you suggested had not occurred to us when writing it."*

³²² Glenn W. Herrick, "Herrick to Burr," January 27, 1938, # 14-17-22 George Lincoln Burr papers, 1851-1942." *"Stanley Schaefer apprized me the other day that the Comm. On Publication, has approved the MS of the Comstock Autobiog. And that it was going to be published. I suggested to Prof. Gage that the account Anna gave of the death of your dear wife out to be submitted to you for your approval or rejection. This was just as we were leaving Ithaca in Nov. and I have not heard whether you have seen that chapter or not. I shall have an opportunity to show it to you either in MS form or in galley (?) and can make any changes you may wish. I hope, however, that you have already seen the account. I wish it were possible for you to read the whole story but you can't do everything for everyone."*

³²³ Glenn W. Herrick, "Herrick to Gage Feb 1938," February 4, 1938, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University.

³²⁴ Glenn W. Herrick, "Herrick to Gage Feb 1938," February 16, 1938, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University.

³²⁵ Ibid. "Needham's suggestion, *"The Comstocks of Cornell" is so good that I do not believe we can better it.*"

³²⁶ Cornell Alumni News, "Cornell Alumni News," *Cornell Alumni News*, December 19, 1941, 131."W. Stanley Schaefer '28, manager of the University Press and Comstock Publishing Co., becomes also University Publisher, succeeding Woodford Patterson '95 who relinquished the title last year."

³²⁷ Glenn W. Herrick, "Herrick to Gage Feb 1938," February 16, 1938." *It would probably be only fair to say that Woodford Patterson gave much aid in preparing the manuscript for the printer. I would suggest, however, that we wait and see just what he has done. I am not sure that I shall approve of it.*"

³²⁸ George Lincoln Burr, "Burr to Herrick," April 12, 1938, # 21-23-844 Glenn Washington Herrick papers Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

³²⁹ University and Faculty, "Patterson, Woodford."

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Glenn W. Herrick, "Herrick to Gage May 1938," May 12, 1938, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University. "Your suggestion of signing the Preface with the full names accords with my first idea which I feared might not be acceptable to you. I therefore, suggested the informal initials. I suppose Prof. Burr would be agreeable. The idea of you three men thus becoming sponsors of the book is fine."

³³³ James G. Needham, "Needham to Gage," May 19, 1938, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University.

"Dear Professor Gage:

I like the Preface, but there are three reasons why I would like to have it signed as in the copy submitted to me before:

- 1. It is your preface: Professor Burr and I added only suggestions as to form.*
- 2. You were their most intimate associate during all the years at Cornell.*
- 3. You are president of the Comstock Publishing Co. that now issues the book, and I would like to see your name set down there as President, as in the former copy. Readers of the book will learn from it how you shared with the Comstocks in their enterprise. I would gladly be a sponsor for the publication, and would feel flattered to go along with you and professor Burr in that way; but I do not deserve that distinction, and the book does not need sponsors.*

I still feel regretful that the title is not to be The Comstocks of Cornell: other Comstocks there have been in plenty, but only these two have so wrought here as to justify the distinction. It should be "known and read of all men." But under any title, I am eager to see and read the book.

Yours sincerely,

J.G. Needham" (signed)

³³⁴ George Lincoln Burr, "Burr to Gage May 1938," May 22, 1938, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University.

"Dear Brother Gage,

Pardon the delay of my reply to your letter. I have been here several days, but have been busied with errands that had to be done in the White Library, which is richer on witchcraft than that of Mr. Lea in Philadelphia, and with the reading of proof-sheets, in which I am still deep.

Your suggestion that I join you and Needham in signing the preface to Anna's book appals (Sic.) me because I have not the slightest legal right to speak for the Comstock Press. But since (as I understand it) you two and Glenn join in asking me, and since I have indeed had a hand in drawing up this statement, I am willing to have my name added to yours -- if it may come last. But I suggest that your own, as the leading author (and the leader in the responsibility), should come first and that mine may well be severed from the rest by a slightly greater space than separates these. But I am willing to submit this to your joint decision.

I venture to suggest, too, three or four further corrections of the press which seem to me needed a semicolon, a transposition and a couple of commas.

Faithfully,

George L. Burr (signed)

Let me add that the preface is now wholly pleasing to me."

³³⁵ Simon Henry Gage, "Gage to Needham Jun 1938," June 5, 1938, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University.

"Dear Professor Needham:

After getting your reaction to the FOREWORD and the names at the end, and that of Prof. Burr, Stanley and Prof. Herrick the following seemed to meet the wishes expressed or unsaid of all concerned. Please tell me if it meets your approval.

Here is the last paragraph of the old revision:

One of the continuing enterprises that they together had a large share in inaugurating is the Comstock Publishing Company, which now takes pleasure and satisfaction in issuing this volume. The Company also gratefully acknowledges the advice of George L. Burr and James G. Needham with reference to the publication of this autobiography, and their aid in preparing the FOREWORD.

Simon Henry Gage

President of the

Comstock Publishing Co., Inc.

Needham's hand-written reply below:

Dear Professor Gage: This is all right, but it gives me more credit than I deserve. Yours sincerely, J. G. Needham."

³³⁶ Simon Henry Gage, "Gage to Herrick Jun 1938," June 5, 1938, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University. *"Dear Professor Gage, this seems to be meet the requirements and lets me out. G.W.H."* Herrick's hand-written reply to Gage's letter. — KSt.

³³⁷ Simon Henry Gage, "Gage to Patterson June 1938," June 24, 1938, Box 11, #14-26-480 Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University.

³³⁸ "14-26-480 Box 11 Woodford Patterson Letter," July 19, 1938, 2. "*I began the job in good faith, hoping to get through the mass of typescript (twenty chapters, 760 pages) within a few weeks, and not doubting that the labor would be worthwhile.*"

³³⁹ Woodford Patterson, "Woodford Patterson Papers 1895-1984, #6-2-2168. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library." China-marker as an editing pencil is seen in different colors in Patterson's papers. – KSt.

³⁴⁰ Woodford Patterson, "Woodford Patterson to Simon Gage July 1938," July 19, 1938, 1, Box 11, #14-26-480 Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 2.

³⁴² Ibid., 3.

³⁴³ Ibid., 4.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Glenn W. Herrick, "Herrick to Gage August 1938," August 1, 1938, Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University." *Dear Professor Gage-*
Would it be too much trouble for you to let me have a copy of your Introduction to the Comstock Autobiog. (Sic.) in its complete form? If you haven't a duplicate copy I will gladly make one if you will send me the original. I will return promptly the copy you send me. Very sincerely yours, Glenn W. Herrick"

³⁴⁷ Gage, "Simon Henry Gage 480 Papers, 1880-1957."

³⁴⁸ Ibid. "*As a slight appreciation of the work and expense incurred by Prof. Herrick in revising the original MS. Grant of \$250.00 to Professor Herrick.*"

³⁴⁹ Simon Henry Gage, "Gage to Patterson Sept 1938," September 1, 1938, Box 11, #14-26-480 Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University.

³⁵⁰ Woodford Patterson, "Woodford Patterson to Simon Gage Sept 1938," September 12, 1938, Box 11, #14-26-480 Simon Henry Gage papers 1880-1957, Kroch Library Division Rare & Manuscript Collections of Cornell University.

³⁵¹ Smith, *Memorial Statements, Cornell University Faculty*. Burr (d. 1938), Gage (d. 1944), and Patterson (d. 1948).

³⁵² James G. Needham was still alive when Herrick published *CoC* in 1953. Documentation was not found indicating Needham's opinion about publishing the manuscript.- KSt.

³⁵³ Smith, "Cornell's Educational Pioneers: The Comstocks of Cornell."

³⁵⁴ James G. Needham and New York State College of Agriculture, *The Lengthened Shadow of a Man and His Wife* (Lancaster, Pa., 1946).

³⁵⁵ Smith, "Evolution of the Venation in the Anal Area of the Wings of Insects." RGS studied approximately 445 insect species for her dissertation project. – KSt.

³⁵⁶ Herrick made forty-two footnote notations in *CoC*, and six of this group are not entomologically based. -KSt.

³⁵⁷ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953. Martha van Rensselaer/Flora Rose (71), Isaac P. Roberts (99), George Caldwell (102), George Lincoln Burr (156), and David Starr Jordan (160) in example. -KSt.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 254.

³⁵⁹ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, viii. "I asked Dr. Francis Wormuth, with his more impersonal attitude, to assist in the arrangement of the manuscript material. Dr. Wormuth's experience in editing has been most helpful."

³⁶⁰ Glenn Washington Herrick, *Insect Enemies of Shade-Trees*, (Ithaca, N. Y.: Comstock Publishing Company, Inc., 1935). "To Liberty Hyde Bailey who taught me to recognize a tree as a living, sentient thing with character and individuality."

³⁶¹ Francis D. Wormuth, *Archives West: Francis Dunham Wormuth Papers, 1920-1981* (Salt Lake City, UT,).

³⁶² *Ibid.*

³⁶³ "Development - College of Social and Behavioral Science - The University of Utah," accessed August 14, 2015, <https://csbs.utah.edu/annual-reports/2011/development.php>.

³⁶⁴ Cornell University, *Cornell University Office of the Registrar's Record, 1868-2008*; Wormuth, *Archives West: Francis Dunham Wormuth Papers, 1920-1981*.

³⁶⁵ Cornell University, *Guide to the Prize Essay Collection, 1872-2013*, 1929, Box 12, Box 17.

³⁶⁶ George Jarvis Thompson, "Development of the Anglo-American Judicial System," *Cornell Law Review* 17, no. 3 (April 1932): 395.

³⁶⁷ Cornell University, *Guide to the Prize Essay Collection, 1872-2013*, Box 23.

³⁶⁸ Cornell Alumni News, "Cornell Alumni News," *Cornell Alumni News*, June 3, 1937, 408.

³⁶⁹ Herrick, *Glenn Washington Herrick Papers, 1872-1963*, Box 9; Cornell Alumni News, "Cornell Alumni News," June 3, 1937, 408. Herrick lived at 219 Kelvin Place, Ithaca. Ms. Wormuth lived at 112 Highland Place, Ithaca. – KSt.

³⁷⁰ Woodford Patterson, "Woodford Patterson to Simon Gage July 1938," 2. "Accounts of her own and Professor Comstock's professional work are interrupted and disjointed by trivial jottings -- incidents of travel for lecturing or for recreation, social visits paid and received, picnics, dinners, concerts and plays, domestic affairs of relatives, even the going and coming of housemaids."

³⁷¹ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 4–30.

³⁷² Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 69.

³⁷³ Comstock, *Confessions to a Heathen Idol*, 13–15.

³⁷⁴ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 217. The word 'confession' is also synonymous with the word 'autobiography,' or 'the written account of one's life' [<http://www.thesaurus.com/browse/diary>]. -KSt.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Examples of such themes include being worn down by responsibilities, thinking versus one's conscience, 'working a room' at a party, on being angry, and the 'definition of a kiss.' -KSt.

³⁷⁷ Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell," unpublished, 6-21 to 6-23.

³⁷⁸ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953, 118.

³⁷⁹ Herrick, *Glenn Washington Herrick Papers, 1872-1963*, Box 12. May 10, 1955, Herrick recorded in his diary "Burning papers," and again two years later July 28, 1957, he recorded "Burned papers." Also, the personal diaries that Mrs. Comstock refers to her "Journal Intime" (page 217 in the Comstock-book) are not in the Comstock archival holdings and may have been destroyed at this time. -KSt.

³⁸⁰ L'Eplattenier, "An Argument for Archival Research Methods," 177. The phrase is coined by L'Eplattenier. – KSt.

³⁸¹ Comstock, *The Comstocks of Cornell*, 1953. "This book is dedicated to fellow entomologists, to other scientists, and to the students and friends of Mr. and Mrs. Comstock, in the spirit of the gracious tribute paid to them by Cornell University students in the dedication of their historical yearbook, *The 1929 Cornellian*. 'To John Henry Comstock and to Anna Botsford Comstock. Partners in science, as in life, by all revered as Scholars, Teachers, Writers, and dear to many a student generation by reason of their open home and helpful hearts, we dedicate this volume.' "

³⁸² "The Oral History Transcript by Gould Coleman," June 20, 1963. 7, 11.

³⁸³ In the *Comstocks of Cornell* (1953), the *Dedication*, *Foreword*, and facing-page photograph are all centered upon Herrick's mentor, John Comstock. In her own self-titled autobiography, Anna Comstock's photograph does not appear until page eighteen, and even then, it is followed by an image of Professor Comstock's Insectary and Comstock Hall, circa 1933, which housed the Department of Entomology at Cornell University. – KSt.

³⁸⁴ Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, *Teaching Children Science: Hand-on Nature Study in North America, 1890-1930* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010). Kohlstedt's work in the history nature-study education is prolific. This citation serves as a recommended example of her work. -KSt.

³⁸⁵ Kevin C. Armitage, *The Nature Study Movement: The Forgotten Popularizer of America's Conservation Ethic* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009). Based on Armitage's dissertation work at the University of Kansas. The book is specific to the history of the nature-study movement in the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries. -KSt.

³⁸⁶ Comstock, *Handbook of Nature Study: For Teachers and Parents*, 1.

³⁸⁷ State of New York Department of Agriculture, *Cornell Nature-Study Leaflets*, vol. Nature-Study Bulletin No. I (Albany, New York: J. B. Lyon Company, Printers, 1904), 559–76. Children's leaflets on gardening at home and school (*A Garden All Your Own*, *The Gardens and the School Grounds*, *Something for Young Farmers*) all written by John W. Spencer.

³⁸⁸ Comstock, *Handbook of Nature Study: For Teachers and Parents*, 1.

³⁸⁹ State of New York Department of Agriculture, *Cornell Nature-Study Leaflets*, 1904, Nature-Study Bulletin No. I:473–83. A representation of leaflets (*Twigs in Later Winter*, *Pruning*, *The Hepatica*, *Jack-in-the-Pulpit*, *Dandelion* [with L.H. Bailey], *Maple trees in Autumn*, *A Corn Stalk*, *In the Corn Fields*) pulled from Alice McCloskey's portfolio. McCloskey contributed twenty of the thirty leaflets written for children in this book. They are succinct and guide the educator through basic methods of instruction and encourage observation by the child. – KSt.

³⁹⁰ L'Eplattenier, "An Argument for Archival Research Methods."

³⁹¹ "Teleological Ethics | Philosophy," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed May 13, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/teleological-ethics>. "theory of morality that derives duty or moral obligation from what is good or desirable as an end to be achieved. Also, known as consequentialist ethics."

³⁹² Randall C. Jimerson, "Values and Ethics," *Journal of Information Ethics* 22, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 21–45. Discussion of archival ethics is beyond the scope of this dissertation and the reader is directed to Jimerson's article on defining standards of archival codes of ethics. -KSt.

³⁹³ Simon Henry Gage, "Simon Henry Gage 480 Papers, 1880-1957", Box 11, 14-26-480, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

³⁹⁴ Cook, *Controlling the Past*, 363–79. Specifically, Randall C. Jimerson's essay "*How Archivists Control the Past*" discussing a direct connection between archival documentation over the social and political influences as correlated by Samuels, "Who Controls the Past."

³⁹⁵ "Anna Botsford Comstock Song" Lyrics remember from Bruce Brittain and his sister, June 6, 2016. These are the lyrics to a campfire song that used to be sung in the evening by young campers, at the Nature Center in Ithaca, New York, through the 1930s to 1980s. -KSt

³⁹⁶ James Russell Lowell, "Extreme Unction," *Poetry Cat*, accessed January 5, 2015, <http://www.poetrycat.com>.

³⁹⁷ Simon Henry Gage, "Simon Henry Gage, 1880-1957", Box 11, 14-26-480, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

³⁹⁸ Gage, "Simon Henry Gage, 1880-1957."

³⁹⁹ Anna Botsford Comstock, "The Comstocks of Cornell: Biography and Autobiography of John Henry Comstock and Anna Botsford Comstock" (Ithaca, N. Y., unpublished), #21-25-27, Box 8. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection Cornell University Library.

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